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NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ:

BEING A
MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTION
OF

ORIGINAL PAPERS
In PROSE and VERSE.

Written in the Reigns of HENRY VIII,
Queen MARY, ELIZABETH, King
JAMES, &c.

By Sir JOHN HARINGTON,
The Translator of ARIOSTO, and others who lived
in those Times.

Selected from AUTHENTIC REMAINS,
By HENRY HARINGTON, jun. A. B.
Of Queen's College, OXON.

*Non potes in Nugas dicere plura meas
Ipse ego quam dixi—
— novimus esse Nihil.*

Martial,

VOL. II.

LONDON:

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THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD FRANCIS SEYMOUR

DEAN OF WELLS

THIS DOCUMENT IS HEREBY

PRODUCED BY

AS HISTORY OF THOSE TIMES, SET FORTH
IN THE ANNALS OF HIS OWN FAMILY

IN THE YEAR 1700

AS PARTIAL TESTIMONY OF GRATITUDE TO
THE EASTON AND FARRINGTON

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE



MOST OBLIGED SERVANT

HENRY HARRINGTON

OF THE COUNTY OF OXFORD

ESQ.

1700

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
AND REVEREND

LORD FRANCIS SEYMOUR,

DEAN OF WELLS,

THIS VOLUME IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED;

N O T

As a HISTORY of THOSE TIMES, better pictured
In the ANNALS of HIS OWN FAMILY;

B U T

As a partial TESTIMONY of GRATITUDE for
The ESTEEM and FRIENDSHIP shewn

TO THE FATHER OF

HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

HEN. HARINGTON.

Queen's Coll. Oxon;

Jan. 1, 1775,

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORDS
OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

REPORT
OF THE
COMMISSIONERS
OF THE
REVENUE

THE EDITOR OF THE
LONDON GAZETTE
THINKS IT NECESSARY TO
APPOLOGIZE IF NOT FOR THE
LACK OF THE MATERIALS OF THE
REVENUE COLLECTIONS & OF THE
TO DEMAND AN OBSERVANCE OF CHRONO-
LOGICAL ORDER, SINCE EACH CONNECTION
IS OF LIKE CONSEQUENCE TO THE
THE METHOD IS OBTAINING TO THE
OBTAINING TO THE METHOD OF
DIFFERENT METHODS AND A DIFFERENT
MANY WERE SENT BY THE
PEDITION, WHEN OTHERS WERE NOT
SAME PERIOD AND SUBJECT WERE
FOUND. SEVERAL WERE
WITH AN EXAMINATION OF THE
WHOLE COMMENTS WERE
MIL-



TO THE
READER.

THE EDITOR of this Volume thinks it necessary to make some Apology, if not for the *Matter*, at least for the *Manner* of this Publication. Collections of this Kind seem to demand an Observance of Chronological Order, altho' such Connexion is of little Consequence to the Reader. This Neglect is owing to the Editor's obtaining the following Pieces from different MSS. and at different Times. Many were sent to the Press for Expedition, when others relative to the same Period and Subject were not found. Several were accidentally met with on examining old Family-Books, whose Contents were, as usual, truly

TO THE READER.

Miscellaneous; the same Leaf containing, on one Side, a Letter of *Political Intelligence*; and, on the other, an excellent Ointment for *Kibed Heels*, or a sovereign Balsam for *Broken Shins*. Here, gentle Reader, we beg Leave to anticipate your merry Remark, *viz.* that the Editor has preserved the worst Side of the Leaf. However just such Observation may be, yet we have not totally neglected your Welfare, since we have given you a curious *Spiritual Application* which cannot fail of Success, if duly attended to; this Recipe may truly deserve *Probatum est*. P. 233.

The ingenious Author * of the *Biographical History* having observed in his Supplemental Volume, that the *Nugæ Antiquæ* deserved a better Title, we shall only remark that the Sanction of this Gentleman's Compliment is a better Substitute for our little Work, than any *Alteration* we can at present suggest.

The

* The Reverend and Learned Mr. Granger.

TO THE READER.

The Spelling has been preserved for the most Part, and, altho' the same Persons spelt very differently, it was thought necessary to adhere strictly to it, as a Proof of there being no Standard at this Point of Time, for writing the English Language with correct Orthography.

Whatever Objections may arise to this Publication, the Editor commends himself to the Candor of the Public. If the *Matter* be trifling, it is not his *own*; if the *Manner* be erroneous, more serious Avocations shall be his Plea; altho' he has amused himself with—*Quid meditans Nugarum*, he could not submit to be—*Totus in Illis*.

THE

The following is a list of the names of the members of the Council of the City of London, who have been elected to the office of Mayor of the City of London, since the year 1800, in the order in which they have been elected, and the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Sheriff of the City of London, since the year 1800, in the order in which they have been elected.



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A
TREATISE
ON
PLAYE.

By SIR JOHN HARINGTON.

NEVER PRINTEDE.

Of PLAYE.

IT may seeme strange, among so many graue
and waighty matters, to present so idle and
tryflinge a discowrce as the tytle heerof
seemeth to promis; and the wryter may be
thowght to haue been verry gamsome in his hu-
mor, or verry barren of other matter for so do-
ing, yf bothe owr chronicles did not shew vs a
president of a stowt and pollytyck Kynge (I can-

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B

not

not say iust and vertuous) that propounded as a serious matter, at a counsell-board, to haue a fitt and well chosen playfellow for his nephew; and if every mans owne experience did not tell him, that recreation after study, ease after payne, rest after labor, is very necessary.

Now though I know that holly and wise preachers may say, and say trewly, that as a man may bee mery withowt lassing, quell hunger and thirst without surfeting, so hee may refresh his sperites without dyce or card-playing; yet I will not bee so seuer and stoycall to pronounce that such play is vnhoneft, vngodly, vnlawful, and by wise Princes owght to be banished, not only owt of theyr houses, but owt of theyr dominions, as an infecter of manners, a spoyler of yowth, a waster of welth, yea, and of that wich is not to be redeemed by welth, ovr most precious tyme: for, if I shoulde holde such a paradox, I shoulde haue all ovr yowng Lordes, ovr sayr Ladyes, ovr gallant Gentlemen, and the flower of all England against mee; yea, to say truly, I should haue myne own fanfy and custome, nay even my owne opinion and judgment against mee: because I do think yt at the worst tollerable, for the most part indifferent, and in some sort commendable; and therefore, at the first entrawnne hereto, I may shake handes and make trewse with my good frend Mr. Groomporter, and assure him that this discowrse of myne tends no way to his hindrawnne; but rather to establissh an honor and order in that, which in wise mens opinions is now both dishonorably and disorderly abused, specially in
that

that house whence the pattern and lyght of all honor and order should come.

I. Fyrst thearfore, I will shew you what the trew vse of play is.

II. Secondly, I will lay downe breefly what vices it participateth.

III. Thirdly, I will declare my conceyl for a remedy of soche dissease, for avoyding all or the mooste of the inconveniences that happen by the vntemperate and immoderate vse of the same.

Play, accordinge to the awncient schoolemen, (who weare the narrowest examiners and suttellest distinguyshers of wordes) ys defined to bee, *Ludus, id est, locutus vel operatio in quo nihil quæritur nisi delectatio animalis*. A spending of the tyme eyther in speeche or action, whose onely end ys a delight of the mynd or speryt. And therfore they call yt also a remedy against the overburthening and dulling of the speryts: yt may be de-riued into three kindes.

I. Fyrst, of devocion, of which kinde of recreation, although yt bee absolutely the best, I shall haue cause to speake but litle.

II. The second of vnseemly pleasures, provoking to wantonesse; of which, because it is the worst, I must needes say somewhat.

III. The third, of all kynde of games devised for pastyme, which they comprehend vnder the name of *Aleaxis* and *quasi Aleaxis*; in which eyther meer hazarde prevayles, as at dyce; or chawnce with some vse of witt, as in cardes and tables; or chawnce with some sleight, strength, and agillitye of the body, as shooting, bowling, tennis, the mooste of which being *adidá-*

things indifferent, and both to good and bad vses in all the ages of a man, are consequently the principall grownd and proiect of this my discowrse.

Of the fyrst and moſte excellent play or recreation (that I may not ſpeake without awtorytie) wee finde an example in the holly hystories of David, 2 *Kings*, vi. *cap.* who ſaid, *Ludam & ſiam vilior*. Holly virtuous paſtymes bee adviſed in the New Teſtament, ſinging ſalmes, and himms, and ſpiritual ſongs, as St. James counſelleth thoſe that are mery; walking abroad and meditating as Iſake did like a doue; recording ſome of the elloquent and excellent ſoliloquyas of St. Awguſtin, or, yf they be vnlearned, ſinginge one of Daudi's dyvine ſalmes well tranſlated into meeter; of which myſelfe haue heard ſome profeſ to haue had more pleaſure, and theyr mindes more liſted vp to devotion, then with all the ſollom church muſycke of organs and voyces: whether it weare the matter, or the meeter, or the maker, or the muſycke, or all together that ſo ravyſht them. Of which excellent worke, I meane thoſe ſalmes in meeter, ſeing it is allredy prophecied thoſe precious leaues (thoſe hims that ſhe doth conſecrate to Heauen) ſhall owlaſt Wilton walls *, meethinke it is pittie they are unpublyſhed, but lye ſtill incloſed within thoſe walls lyke priſoners, though many haue made great ſuyt for theyr liberty; but of this kinde of play I need ſay no more, not doubting but many noble-mynded cowrtiers frequent often ſuch vertuous exercyſes, and, if

* The Counteſſes of Pembrokes.

they would more often by my perswasyon, I would bee not a little glad of yt.

II. Of the second sorte of play, provoking only and cheefly to wantones (thowgh some more, some lesse) such haue generally been esteemed enterludes, tumblers, jesting fooles, and scoffers, masking and dawncing, and suche like, in some of which theare may sure bee such temper, as to make them voyd of sinne; yet commonly their ys such temptation as ys not without some shame, thearfore how so ever the beholders, yf they geve not as yt weare the brydle to much to loose and wanton desyres, may bee excused, yet the actors for the most parte are esteemed illiberall, base, and ridiculous. One sayd merely that enterludes weare the divells farmons, and jesters the divells confessors; thease for the most part disgracing of vertue, and those not a little gracing of vices. But, for my part, I commend not such sower censurers, but I thinke in stage-playes may bee much good, in well penned comedies, and specially tragedies; and I remember, in Cambridge, howsoever the presyfer sort wold haue banisht them, the wyser sort did, and still doe mayntayn them. Trew yt is that St. Awgustin doth reprove, and that very justly, the plays of the awncient Romans, such as those that weare called *Bacchanalia*.

Not only thease drunken and wanton playes, but even their *Circenses* and *Seculares*, because thease wear for the moste part full of blasphemows superstition, and even dedycated (as he moste amply prooveth) to the honor of theyr fallse godds, indeed fowle sperits and meer de-

vylls; but what preiudyce neede that to bee to
owr enterludes, which are no way intended to
the dishonor of our own trew Lord, nor honor
of his enemy. Concerning this matter one
wrote a prety elegye, of wich I remember thease
fower fyrst verses :

*Non ego qui ludos spectant reor esse nocentes,
Non his omne tamen crimen abesse puto ;
Grandior his ætas morum sine vulnere magno
Forsan adesse potest, sed nisi forte potest.*

To see a play I call no haynows cryme,
Yet say not I all fawlte ys absent thence ;
Men stayd in yeares may see the same som-
tyme,
Perhapps (and but perhapps) withowt of-
fence.

But now whence comes this offence, but
from the ill penning of the plays by the wryters,
or by the wanton humor of this tyme, whom no
mirth can please yf it bee not sawced with some
bawdery? and the Poets care, as sayth Terence,
ys, *Populo ut placerent quas fecissent fabulas.*

Nero, one of the worst Emperors, was to
muche delygthed in musycke, and all kinde of
poetry ; Will any man conclude thearby, that
musycke and poetry is abhominable, because that
abhominable tyrant loved them? Nerua, one of
the best of the good Emperors, was much pleased
with a buffon or jesting foole that he had ; yet
that followd not that all that can play the fooles
are worthy to be favored by Emperors ; for even
that

that jester was pretely jested at one day by the Emperor. For, when the foole, havinge made him mery, begged somewhat of him, and cowlde not obtayne it, he asked the Emperor why he would not geve him greater rewardes, seeing he took suche pleasure in his cownterfaytinge? Oh, said hee, if I payd for yt, the pleasure wear lessened; meaning, belyke, that haulfe the sport was to see him play the foole for nothings; and fewr yt seems they are not well sorted in theyr state and quallitie, if they be not, as Horace calls me,

*Scurra vagus non qui certum praeſepe teneret,
Quelibet in quemuis obprobria fingere ſæuus.*

Lyke wandring rogues that haue no certaine
manger,
Prest to rayle and scoffe at every stranger.

But that such kinde of fellowes as theaſe bee still hawkinge and hanginge about Princes cowrtes and Noble mens howſes, is a custom so awncient that it ys made lawfull by preſcription. As for the rest of the sportes of this second kinde, being not the cheefe intent of my present tretys, I passe them over with this general caveatt, eyther for practising or beholding of them, *Ne quid nimis*. For as to bee plesawnt consefeyted, to be actyve and musicall, are cowrtly and liberall quallities; so for Noble personages to become jesters, tumblers, and pypers, is hateful, fond, and dishonorable.

III. The third sort of plays, which I calld *Alearis* & *quasi Alearis*, comprehending in a manner all kinde of games playd at for wagers, beinge one of the moste dawngerows rockes at wich the yowth of this island suffer voluntary shipwrack, both of fame and fortune, is the speciall kinde of which I wolde now speake. For I haue somtyme considering herof wondred at that strange defease of some men in this kinde, who playing at cardes or dyce, with as ill fortune (commonly) as may bee, and with such impacience, that in reason it must exclude all pleasure; that haue not had the power to refrayn from it, but haue still pursued it eyther to the utter decay of theyr estates, or ellse dryven with a kinde of unnecessary necessitye to descend to so base shifts, as, when theyr wyser judgment hath after (by assistance of Gods good grace) expelled that foolyshe fansey, they themselues haue damned and detested as most ignominious and reproachfull.

And therfore, seing so playnely this infection begin to grow so generall, and myselfe having so hardly (and perhapps skantfully) escaped yt, I thought it weare an honest and acceptable endeavor to fynde soome remedy, if I coulde, for the same. Fyrst, thearfore, I did search, as phisycions doe, the trew nature of the defease, and owt of what humors yt is specially fed, and I fynd, partly by vnparciall examining mine owne imperfections and follyes, and partly by observing other mens customs, this excessiue play to grow from one of these evill affections of the minde which the awncientes (not vnproperly)

perly) weare wont to term dedly finnes, viz. pryde, covetowfness, and slowth; of which slowth causeth the frequentation of yt, pryde the greatnes, and avarice the greedines. And accordingly I direct my aduise hereto as good phifions dooe medecynes, not quite to take away the humors, but only to restrayne the dawngerows overflowing thearof. Not but that I am fully perswaded, that, yf I shoulde make such an anotomy, as might easely bee donne, of the fowlnes of these offences that aryse out of great play, yea, if one of these gamsters myght, with the eye of virtuous iudgment see but one sawser full of the corrupt blood that this pestilent disease hath bread in them, they would suffer themselves not only to bee purged, but to bee lawnced, rather then any drop of such blood, or of so dawngerows an humor, should bee remayninge in them; and, as for those that weare yet never infected, they would follow the Italians medecyn for the plague:

Presto procul tarde cede recede redi.

Goe away with the fyrst, remove away fardestt, retorne with the last.

But this season sarves not for such kynde of physicke; I will neyther purge, lawnce, nor lett blood; my pacientes shall fare delycately, so they will feede moderatly; fynally, they shall never need eyther sweare or swett (though theyr disease make them often do both) if they will follow but the prescript that I will geve them; and, for theyr more assurance, I have taken it

myselfe and soome of my good frends, and thearfore I can say as my Ariosto sayth,

Beleeve what heere is shown for thy behoofe,
Probatum est, I know 'tis trew by prooffe.

But, that I may yet a while continew this my phisycall metaphor, marke what I shall tell (I speake to all great players) of the nature of your malladys, and, if you find that I discouer aryght your defeases without feeling your pulses, thinke I can as well prescribe a medecyn without casting your waters.

I. Fyrst, thearfore, I say, the cheefe nurse of play is idellness or slowth. Not but that play is a kinde of remedy allso against slowth, but yet, when wee are grown by to much eating and surfeting to a general indisposifyon to all busines, then commonly wee embrace play to avoyd sleep. I will leaue to the divynes to tell you how dangerous a thinge this fulnes of fleshe is cownted, and what became of them that did eate and drinke, and rose up agayn to play. Lett us but morally and civilly (as I may say) lay before vs an exampell of some one, of which there is to great choyse, that spendes his whole life in play: as thus, for example, in the morninge, perhaps, at chesse, and after his belly is full then at cardes; and, when his sperites wax dull at that, then for some exercyse of his armes at dyce, and, being weary thearof, for a little motion of his body, to tennis; and, having warmd him at that, then, to coole himselfe a little, play at tables; and, being disquieted in his paciens
for

for ouerseeing synk and quater, or missing two or three fowle blotts, then to an enterlude, and so (as one well compared yt) lyke to a mill-horse, treddinge alwayes in the same stepps, bee ever as far from a worthy and a wise man as the circle ys from the center: Would not one swear this wear a marvelows idle fellow?

Sewer idlenes is a thinge not onely condemned of all men, and by some law-makers severely punyshed, but evn hatefull to nature it selfe, and thearfore commonly it ys the first suggester of all the fowl and enormows sinns that are committed.

*Quæritur Ægiotus quare sit factus adulter,
Inpromptu ratio est, desidiosus erat.*

What made Ægistus first a letcher grow?
Slowth was the cawse, as all the world doth know.

Yt is the broom that sweepeth cleen all good thoughts owte of the howse of the mynde, making it fitt to receaue the vii devills, that the manns end may bee worse then the beginning. For, as contemplacion rayseth the soule to the trew loue of God and inflameth it with a desyre of vyrtuows actions, so doth idlenes depresse the speryts, engenders a desyre of vnworthy thinges, and cooleth or rather quencheth all the sparkes of vertue and honor. Whearfore not to stand to longe vppon this poynt, which wold (yow may see) afford infynit matter, whosoever will not be noted with the fowle infamy of
B 6. ydlenes,

ydleness, let him not bee a continuall gamster, for, if he play very much, Demosthenes wear not able to cleer him if he were sued vppon an action of idlenes. I say (very much) not but that I cownt a little play, as I said in the beginning, both tollerable and also commendable for worthy parsons of eyther sex (specially attending in cowrt) to recreate themselves at play; and meethinkes I have observed good vse thearof. For it is (be yt spoken vnder correction) an vnfittinge syght to see a presence-chamber empty more than haulfe the day, and men cannot bee allwayes discowrcing, nor women alwayes pricking in clowts; and therefore, as I say, it is not amisse to play at some sociable game (at which more than ii may play) wherby the attendawnce may seem the lesse tedyous to the players, and the rest that looke on may in a sort intertayn themselvs with beholding it, as daylie experience sheweth vs. Whearfore I haue been ever against the opinion of some elder farvitors (that seeme now to be better antyquaries then cowrtyers) who will mayntayn that till ii of the clocke no Gentleman should stand aboue the cubbard; that to leane in the presence-chamber is vnseemely; to syt is vnseemely; that play came not yn by lycence, but crept in by lycenciowfnes.

These good Gentlemen thinke that one of us may boist of the well spending of that day whearein they haue told vs how mery a world it was when the King went to Bullen; whereas, thanks be to God and that noble Kings moste noble dawghter, wee thinke it as mery still;
and

and to such reprovers I answer, New Lords, new laws; her Majesties commawndment is sufficient law in her cowrt, and, if it please her Hyghnes, she may haue yt so still, but *sublata causa tollitur effectus*; Effects remoue with theyr causes: Good manners will teach every man when it is vnseemly to leane or sitt, and yet the noble nature of Princes is seene in thease indulgences of ease (as I may so call them) to theyr seruantes and subiects. Yt hath been a favor, (thoughe now not common) to geue a pardon of the cap, viz. to stand coverd; yt is a great honor of the Queens court, that no Princes servants fare so well and so orderly, nor have more hollsome provision in all Europe; to bee short, the stately pallaces, goodly and many chambers, sayr gallerys, large gardens, sweet walkes, that Princes with magnificent cost do make (the xxth parte of which they vse not themselues) all shew that they desire, and would have all men thinke they desire, the ease, content, and pleasure of theyr followers, as well as themselves. Which matter, though it be more proper to an other discourse, yet I colde not but towch yt in this, agaynst theyr error rather than awsterytie that say play becoms not the presence, and that it would not as well become the state of the chamber to haue easye quilted and lyned forms and stools for the Lords and Ladyes to sit on, (which fashyon is now taken up in every marchawnts hall) as great plank forms that two yeomen can skant remoue out of their places, and waynscot stooles so hard, that, since great breeches were layd asyde, men can skant indewr

dewr to sitt on. But, to end this fyrst part of this triperyte deafe, you see how willing I ame both to allow play, and all ease in your play, so the cheefe end of play bee that which showld indeed bee the trew use of play, to recreat the speryts for a short tyme, to enhable them better to seryows and wayghty matters.

II. The second cawse of excesse in play I noted to be pride; an ill cawse of a worse effect, which because it loues to be gloryows will feldom be seene alone, but attended on wyth wrath, ryot, and blasphemy; and, saue that custome hath made it so familiar to vs that we neither obserue it in ourselues nor in others, wee should perceave that this proud humor that is fed by play makes vs ofte sweare more in one howr, then otherwise a man cowld have occasyon to dooe in a whole yeer. Now that you may playnly see it is pryde cheefly that moves men to great play, specially in cowrte and in publiyque assemblies whearsoever; mark, I say, the greatest and the moste professed great players if they will not in pryvat mens howses, or in theyr own (yf they haue any) play as small game as need bee, whearas to play the same, nay fyve tymes the same stake in other places, they wold cownt themselves disparaged for ever.

Yt ys ever noted that the fowlest vice that is seekes to put on a maske and shew of some vertue; so this pride in gaming would fayn bee taken for a kynde of magnanimytie and bowntifull disposycion, and thearfore, as I sayd, the more publicke the place is, the more honorable the presence, the deeper the play groweth, and then,

then, as though two shillings and six pence had not as many syllabells in it as one hundred pounds, yow shall heere them still talkinge of hunderds and thousandes. And whearfore is all this, forsooth? because the beholders may extoll theyr braue myndes, and saye one to another, Did yow ever see Gentlemen that cared so little for theyr money, so braue, so bountifull, etc. and perhaps evn herein they are deceived, and that the instead heereof some of the standers by tell how they hard, but 3 dayes past, a mercer importuning some one of them for 10l. matter, and colde get no other answer but God damme me if I pay you not the next mony I receave; and another had a poore widdow following of him, sewing to buy a copy-holde in which shee had a widdows estate, and offerde in a yeare to pay fyftie pound; and he protested hee had such present need of mony hee could not stay so longe, and solde it to another for 30l. in hand. And a thirde, perhaps, was hard chaffing with the baylie of his husbandry for gevinge viiid. a day this deere yeer to day laborers, saying, hee myght haue had them for vii d. Loe the bownty of these magnificall players! to omit how basely some of thease big talking men will borrow, how beggerly they will shyfte, when they will seem most bowntyfully to spend.

Such skornfull and myserable streyghts they are dryven unto that skorn to use a measurable proporcion in theyr play, according to theyr state and callinges. Neyther would I conclude heerof that great Princes or Nobles should play
for

for so little as weare not worth the reckoning of, for I know the saying, *Sine quaestu friget lusus*; small stakes makes colde play. And thearfor, though yt be hard to prescribe a mean and rule of a thing so subiect to extremities in so diuers callinges and abillities of the players, yet I wolde delyver this as my opinion and advise heerein in generall: that the wager in play should bee as it wear sawce, and not the substance of it; so as a man should take at least equal contentment for winninge the game as the mony, and be les greeved for loosing the mony then the game; that a man shold venter no more to play then he cowlde bee easily perswaded to geve out of his superfluytie to some well deserving person that wear in want.

That if the quallitye of the parsons be so different as ofte it happens, that 10 shillings losse to one wear more than 10l. losse to an other; then the greater parsons showld rather stoop somewhat below theyr custome, than the meaner man showld step somewhat aboue his calling. For sewer I am, yf one of the extreame must be fallen into, the little play has the lesse dawning, of fame, of fortune, of fault, than the greater. Besyde, yf the greater parsons in matter of game showld not sorte themselues to the meaner, how showld Princes in their dominions fynde playfellows? For, if her Majestie would play at Primero in that proportion of her estate as I have seen some of her mean subiects in theyr poor callinges, she showld play a dukedom at a rest, and a barrony stake, and then I know none able to holde play with her: but, if her

Highnes

Highnefs can vowtsaf to play fomtyme with her fervawntes, according to theyr meaner abillities, I know not why we her fervawntes fhould fhorne to play with our equalls or inferyors for competent wagers, as the losse may not be burdenfome to them.

And yet, not to neglect the honorable fhew of the place, I woulde wysh that greater parsons shoulde, according to their callinges, play on a velvet carpet, handle nothing but golde, talke of nothing but powns, and yet to venter no more than they may with theyr honors trewly pay, and with theyr ease willingly spare. As for the standers by, who need not know whether every ryall paffes current for 10s. or for 10d. theyr eyes are as well entertayned and theyr thowghts as well pleased as if fo moche golde wear truly wonne and loft, of which myfelfe haue feen doble experyence. For example, whear Lords and great men have been difpofed to play deepe play, and, not havinge mony about them, have cut cardes inftede of cownters, with affewrawnne on theyr honors, to pay for every peece of carde fo loft a portegue; (a thing as fome fay, common in Spayn) and fomtyme donne in this cowrt. I haue obferved that the beholders have taken fmall pleasure in beholding this play, though hundreds were really and indeed loft thereat. And evn now this other day, when *Craftino animarum* was follomly appoynted for the payment of many matches wonne and loft at bowls, the country peeple, that faw no mony walking, helde themfelves deluded, and thought they playd but xiii d. vp xii d. thoughe I doubt fome
of

of theyr friends feele a greater rate for it ear long. And of the other side I haue observed, when some of the better sort haue by my perswasyon (for putting in practyse this cownterfet gaming) playd good store of golde and siluer, rating it for the present at the 10th or 12th peny, so as above a noble or a riall was not in commont account to be lost at a sittinge; yet the vulger beholders did holde it for the noblest and royallest play they had seen; only marveling to see such sober Gentlemen play so much in an howr as they wear not vsed to spend in a weeke. Now, yf the yrreverent Doctor Fawstus, or some such grave patron of great play, showld protest this to bee an intollerable cosenage and dishonorable abuse of the beholders, and with some Chester-like elloquens, deride the weaknes of the conceyt, I answer him that I no way compare with his rare and well studied inuencions of stopps, of cuts, of points, of marks, of slipps, of lays, of setts, of odds in betting, of flurrs, of hy-men and low-men, of familiars, and such-lyke; which I am haulse ashamed to name, becawse it shews I am not so ignorant of them as I owght to bee; all which cunning, if great play were suppressed in owr common ordenaryes, wolde bee as meerly left and forgotten (thoughe it bee now studied and practysed as an excellent misterie and scyence) as Demetryus occupacion of making silver shrynes for Dyana was hindred by the Apostles preaching of Chryste. But I say in defence of this honest or at least harmles dissimulacion, in making the play seeme greater then it is, that

thear

theare is almost no part of our lyfe in which wee doe not generally affecte and effect more dangerows practyses of dissimulation in matters of earnest and wayght than this that I bring in, in matter only of sport and game. Wee goe braue in apparrell that wee may bee taken for better men than wee bee; wee vse much bumbastings and quiltings to seeme better formed, better shewlder, smaller wasted, and fuller thyght then wee are; wee barbe and shaue ofte, to seeme yownger then wee are; wee vse perfumes both inward and outward to seeme sweeter then wee bee; corkt shooes to seem taller then wee bee; we vse courtuows salutations to seem kinder then wee bee; lowly obaysawnces to seeme humbler then wee bee; and somtyme grave and godly communication to seem wyser or devowter then wee bee. And infynit such things wee may observe in ourselues, which are some of them commendable in this respect, that, by good and trew endeavour to seeme to bee, we may obtayne at last the habyt and grace to become to bee such indeed, according to the excellent counsell, *Labor to bee as you would bee thought.* Wherefore, if we allow in so many thinges seeming without beinge, why should wee not bee content, in this one thing, to be lesse bowntifull, or, to term it ryghtly, lesse prodigall, lesse wastefull, lesse madde then we seeme to be.

But, because examples are more effectual often then perswasions, and to prayse the dead is no flattery, I will alleadge one example, well known to many of vs, and thearefore not vnfit for

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for this purpose. Who was more magnificent in matters of trew honor, more sumptuous in building, ritch in furnishing, royall in enter-tayninge, orderly in maintayninge his howse then Sir Christofer Hatton, late Lord Chawncel-lor? a man taught vyrtue, framed to wisdom, raysed to honor by her Majesties speciall grace and choyce; yet when some Embassadors lay at his howse, (knowinge the generall humor of the meaner sort to loue to see great play) whye hee himselfe entertayned the cheefest of them with some graue discourse or some sollem mu-sycke, hee cawsed some of his freends to play at cardes with 1000l. in fayr golde of his mony, ratinge it at theyr owne pleasures at xiid. the pownd, or as themselves agreed on, that the summes playd might seem great, the show boun-tifull, and the substance not vnsupportable.

Thus you see that, if men will needes have a pryde in a thinge whearof they may rather be ashamed, yet in this manner of play I recom-end to you, both the idle man may have his pastyme, and the prowd man his pompe? Now remaynes only how we may allay the covetouse humor of play, for satisfye it we never can, being the verry dropsye of the mynde, whose thirst encreaseth with drinking; a wolfe whose famin abates not with raveing, a sea that aug-menteth not his waters with fillinge; Is thear any hope to assuage the fury of this deseasse in a gamster? Horace sayth, thear ys in any man :

*Fervet avaritia miseraq; cupidine pectus ?
Sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem
Possis, et magnam morbi deponere causam.*

Boyleth

Boyleth thy brest with lucre's base desire?
 Preceptes are fownd to quench this filthy fire,
 And forse this maladye from thee retyre.

It hath been sayd, One strong poyson will expell
 an other, which made me to perswade myselfe
 that the pryde men have in play myght have
 been a suffycient restraynt of this base humor of
 cosenage, specially in a cowrtier; for I remem-
 ber that hee that wrytes the most exact rules
 for a worthy cowrtier to follow, concerninge
 thease kynde of games, geve thease speciall
 rules; that a Gentleman labor not to bee so
 cunning at any of them, though the game fa-
 vor of witt, as ches and the lyke. 2. That
 his play never breed any vnseemly or vntem-
 perat passions, but above all that yt bee voyd of
 deceyt and advantage. O then that Gentlemen
 would bee so proud to disdayn thease base-mynd-
 ed shifts and cosenages, and to skorne that gayne
 that is got with a pair of cardes and dyce.

The awncyent Romans, as appears by their
 own historys, wear exceeding ambitious, but
 yet, as St. Awgustin excellent well noteth, that
 ambition brydled in them many greater and
 more enormows vyces; for the pryde of theyr
 conceyt was such as made them dispyse plea-
 sures, ritches, ease, or whatsoever they thought
 myght deminish theyre reputation with the
 people, or make them the lesse or the worse
 spoken of. But, how farr otherwise it is with
 the pryde of great play, I partly noted before.

It beginns with wantones and ryot, conti-
 news in cursing and blasphemy, and ends com-
 monly

monly in quarrel and cosenage, which how unworthy it is of a noble and vertuows sperit, any, that have read Tullyes Offices, maye imagin. For thear yt is sayd, *Fraus vulpeculae, vis Leonis, utrumque alienissimum ab homine, sed fraus odii digna maiore*: Frawd ys fox-lyke, force is lyon-lyke, both for a man moste unseemely; but frawd of the two more hatefull. I will not heare spend muche tyme to awnswer some poore appollogyes that some weake witts haue devysed, beguiling themselves whyle they would fain prooue it lawfull to beguile others. But this I am most assured and can proove it by most evydent reasons, that to vse cosenage at play is a thinge vnnaturall, vnlawfull, and, for the most part, to the party that useth it, vnprofitable. For whether play wear fyrst devysed as a sociable passing the tyme to recreate the speryts, or ellse (as some will haue it) to beguile hunger in a time of great famine, (for I will not discredyt that fame hungry history, havinge myselfe seen some, for eagernes to play, forbear eating, drinking, and sleepeinge, and other necessities of nature a very longe time) What can, I say, be more against the nature, institution, and vse thearof, then to turn kyndnes to unkyndnes, myrth to melancholy, pleasure to pain; fynally, the recreation of over-studied sperites to a most busy study of cosenage.

For, to omit theyr brabblyngs and blasphemyes (which would to God they coulde be omitted) is it a small tyme, thinke yow, that one of these cunninge gamsters spendes in practysinge to flurre a dye sewerly, to stop a cardeclenly,

clenly, to lay a packe cunningly? I haue herd
 some, and those no novyses in these misteryes,
 affyrme, that the dewyser of the sett at the new
 cutt (that did cut so many ear the edg was fully
 discovered) colde not spend so little as a moneths
 earnest study beatinge his brayns er hee could
 contrive it (if it colde be donne withowt help
 of the devell) for, indeed, whom the devill
 should the devill assyst, but soch as labor and
 study night and day in his service? Whearfore
 let them not call it theyr play, but theyr labor,
 theyr trade, theyr occupacion, that play only
 for gayne; for greedines breeds earnestnes, and
 earnestnes overthrows quite the very nature of
 all game.

*Lusuri nuces animos quoque ponere debent,
 Lusori cupido semper gravis exitus inflat;
 Pone malas quoties ludendo vinceris iras,
 Nemo potest semper fœlici ludere dextra.*

Lay down your stake at play, lay down your
 passions;

A greedy gamster still hath some mishap;
 To chafe for loss proceeds of foolish fashions,
 No man throws still the dicé in Fortunes lapp.

These olde verses, patched by me togeather owt
 of I know not what olde wryters, are a suffi-
 cient testimony to proove, what temper the wyser
 haue tawght in times past, and what folly the
 foolyshe haue committed at all tymes, concern-
 ing gaming: by which it appears moste playnly,
 that not only to use deceit in play, but, which is
 far lesse, to make gayne the end of your play,
 quite

quite perverteth the ryght use, quallity, and nature thearof.

Now that it is vnlawfull is soone proved, by the common law, by the civill law, by Gods law. By the common and civill law the phrase in bothe is to call cardes and dyce vnlawfull games, yea thoughe playd at without cosenage; and by the cyvill law mony wonne of a warde or of a sarvant myght haue been recovered yeers after, as appears in the Digest, though I am not ygnorant that some Cyvillians oppose against such a recovery this maxim *In pari causa turpitudinis melior est condicio possidentis*: Whear both partes have like turpitude or dishonesty, the law favors the party in posselsyon; but admyt yt be so for favr play, (thoughe in my poore opinion that word turpitude hath relation not to the play used in dycing-howfes, but in bawdy-howfes) yet for cosenage I hold yt vndowbtedly that mony so wonne, (if yt may be proved, for in law *quod non probatur non est*, nothing is without prooffe) may be recoverd of the keeper of the dycing-house, by the civil law, as appeeres () and by action of cosenage or conspiracy at the common law. Neither doth the former maxim make aught agaynst it, because the dishonesty is not equal, but all in the deceaver. But now, for Gods law, I must confesse I finde no commandement that says, Thow shalt not play, neyther in presise wordes, neyther yet by implicacion; and therefore I sayde at the first, it is in ytfelse a thinge indifferent, other than as it is restrayned eyther by cannons of the church (of which many

many are still in force in this realme) or by other posytiue lawes, soch as eatinge fysh in Lent, wearing soch or soch apparell, which our devynes hold to bynd a Crystian in conscyence, being not dyrectly agaynst the Word of God. But (I say) bee it that play by Skrypture is a thinge indifferent (for fewr I am my gostly father never barred it me neyther by precept nor exawmple) what excuse is this for cosenage in play, that breakes at least halfe the commawndments of the old and new law? The new law sayth, Loue God aboue all, loue thy neyghbor as thyselfe. How well this Gentleman loues his neyghbor that lays bayts and hookes to catch his mony from him, every man may see: But I hope for all this hee may loue God better; I will beleewe it if hee can awnswer this question of Saint John, How can one loue God whome hee hath not seen, that loves not his brother whome hee hath seen? But some will say this is a law of a secret and rare perfection; the ten commawndments are playne and open, Doth the cunning gamster keepe them? Thou shalt not couet is the last and least of them, lett him bee pardoned for breaking that; but yf hee bee (as St. Pawle calls it) an idolloter with his covetownes, if hee swear and forswear, breake sabbaths, dishonor parents and magistrates, murther with mallys, steale from all hee plays with (for it is worie then theft) witnes fallshood with others, all which all the world sees that the coseninge gamsters daylie do, then it is to playn that they breake nyne of the commawndments; and (if

hee bee not an eunuche) I dare be sworn that hee that breakes nyne of them doth keep none of them.

Now lett them devyse what defences they can for this theyr cosenag, lett them excuse it as a *pecca*, and say it is no robbery becawse the party brings yt to venter it (for so taylors deny theyr stealinge by saying the stuffe is browght them) yet I thinke, if thease seeke theyr stolen stuffe in hell, those will finde theirs in hell also. For whear law allows a recouery, and conscyence byndes to restitution, how can the gayne bee any waye lawfull?

Men are not passinge good nor passinge yll of a sudden, or all at once; but, as the good grow from fayth to fayth, so the lewd fall from filth to filth. At the fyrst a man makes somme skruple, and, when hee hath gevn himselfe leaue to play fallse for a little, at last hee taketh not only leaue but pleasure, yea sometyme a pryde to do it for more then a great deale. Wherefore, as Ovid sayth.

*Obsta principijs; sero medicina paratur,
Cum mala per longas invaluere moras.*

Stop the first breaches; medcine will not boot,
When by delay deseases take deep root.

But yet to remember my purpose and promise in the beginning, which was that I wold not quite purge any humor, but only allay yt a little; so I will still yeelde to leaue so much of this covetows humor in play as may serue for

for a sawce (as I sayd) yea, and a hungry sawce, soch as may moue sufficient appetyte, but withall I wishe you to beware of a surfitte. Neyther need I herin to geve any other rules, but to refer you to those former aduises that I gaue in waying the dyvers callings and qualyties of men.

Thear is a great shew of popularitytie in play- ing small game, as wee haue heard of one that shall be nameles (becawse he was not blameles) that with shootynge seauen vp groates among yeamen, and goinge in playne apparrell, had stolen so many hartes (for I dare not say hee came trewly by them) that hee was accused of more then felony. But my noble godfather, William Erle of Pembroke, shall not bee nameles, who (as I haue herd a speciall sarvant neer abowt him tell) lost two thowsand pownde in one night (imitating Augustus Cæsars play, though I will be sworn for him he never read his life) still geving away all hee wonn, and paying all hee lost; and yt ys possible (for so said his sarvant to mee) that, by this his ill luck at play, hee saved as much as the man before ment (thowghe not mencioned) did loose. Thus I haue named, or at least signified an exawmple of small game without basenes, of greate play without folly; now I will ad only two not vnpleasawnt tales, one of a witty deceyt not dishonest; another of a willing losse not vndiscreet. * Pope Julio (if I fail not in the name, and fewr I ame that their is a game of the cardes after his name) was a greate and wary player, a greate virtue in a man of his pro-

* Now called *Pope Joan*, an old Game.

fellyon; but being a good companion, and, as
 the phrafe is, as mery as Pope Joane, yt is
 sayd hee playd at Primero with some great
 Princes or Cardinalls that vse to be Popes play-
 fellows, and, after the play was grown warm
 and the restes great, it happened that two of
 them wear incowntered fiae and fiftye; moch
 mony being sett vpp, and moch more to sett,
 the Pope being the younger 55, thowh it weare
 the greatest game of the cardes, yet smelling
 the ratt, for they be all *Nasuti*, and mistrusting,
 as it was indeed, that thear was an elder game
 on the boord, gaue it ouer, swearing, if hee had
 been but one more, hee wold haue seene it;
 the other supposinge, as the speech intended,
 that hee had been at the most but fower and
 fiftie, allowed him the one more, and by judg-
 ment of the groom-porters thear lost it. Heer
 was a kind of frawd, but not so full of fawlt as
 of witte, and the parsons being soch with whome
 5000 crownes is but a rewarde to a cortesan for
 a nights lodging, it cannot in them seeme
 covetownesness or cosenage. Well you may call
 it a stratagem of witt at the cardes, as they terme
 stratagems of war in a campe; for thowghe a
 Heathen Prince could say,

*Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique,
 Vos ne velit vel me regnare hora quidve ferat fors.*

Try wee, with glittering blade, not glistering
 gold,
 Which of vs two the highest seat shall hold.

Yet

Yet now Hollynes and his cheef Catholike
sonnes can say,

Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?

Be it virtue, be it frawd
Against a foe it merits lawd.

O Chrystians! if you will not learn fayr warrs,
and fayr play, and honesty from Heauen, learn
it from the Heathen; and, if humility cannot
teache yow to shunne some gloriows sinns, lett
pryde moue yow to shame of so base sinns.

The other tale I wold tell of a willinge and
wise los I have hearde dyversly tolde. Some
tell it of Kyng Phillip and a favoryt of his;
some of our worthy Kyng Henry 8 and Do-
mingo; and I may call it a tale, becawse per-
happes it is but a tale, but thus they tell it:
The Kinge, 55 eldest hand, set vp all restes and
discarded flush; Domingo or Dundego, call him
how you will, helde it vppon 49, or som such
game; when all restes wear vp and they had
discarded, the Kinge threw his 55 on the
boord open, with great lafter, supposing the
game (as yt was) in a manner sewer. Do-
mingo was at his last carde incownterd flush,
as the standers by saw and tolde the daye after;
but, seeing the Kinge so mery, would not for a
rest at Primero put him owt of that pleasawnt
conceyt, and put vp his cardes quietly, yeelding
it lost. What shall we say, for it is disputable?
Was it well or ill donne? We must say as is oft
sayd, it was as it was taken, and they say it

was well taken. But I say, if the fauoryt did it with a cleere mynde, as I may say, *candidely*, to encrease and preferue his masters pleasure, it was a worthy and a kinde parte; but if the fox had read the fable of the beastes hunting with the lyon, how the pray thear is wont to be deuyded, then it was a wrong to the Kyng, and a crafty foxlike parte; and for my parte, if my man should doe foe to me, I would think he mistrusted my pacience; and I remember, fower yeers since, a verry neer kinsman of myne, because I lost a game at chesse for vid. somewhat to patiently unto him, whearby he mistrusted, as yt was indeed, that I lost yt voluntary, vowed hee wold never play with me at chesse agayne, though hee loue the game, and we mett often; neyther can I hyer him, with the best horse I haue, to dispenche with this foolyshe vow. But to draw to an end, for I fynd in this idle discowrse I am to apt to fall into many idell digressyons, I will now only show that the masters of this so seldom thryue by it, as if it weare that alone yt wear enowghe to make them geve it over; and then, for my conclusion, I will sett down breefly the good vses may be made of this cownterfet great play.

Wee iudge ordinarily those trades the best at which eyther some thryue exceedingly, or many thryue reasonably; and those the worst at which many breake bankrowtes, and none wax wellthy. By this rule a cosenyng gamster of all others shoulde have a bad occupacyon; for, to omit his losse of Heavn, which perhappes he never thinks of, fewr I am following that
coursse

cowrse hee can never hope of (for if a customer cowl'd not be a discyple till hee fyrst left his receyt of custome) moche less can a cosener be a trew Chrystian till he leaue his deceyt in cosenage. But I say, omitting that great losse that will make them eternal bankarowtes, lett them show mee but an exawmple among a million that euer rose by play. I haue herd of many ritche marchawnts and goldsmiths in Cheap, some came owt of worshipfull howses to comme after them; *Who hath not hard of the Hosyer whome Deane Nowell, that good old Father, was administrator vnto; of a ritche shoemaker in Westmister; of hunderds I need not name, that by thease honest, painful trades, how fondly soeuer some skorn them, came to greate welthe and substance? But what speak I of honest trades, courtesans haue become ritche, and after haue been conuertytes and remayned honest. Pyrates by sea, robbers by land, haue become honest substanciall men as wee call them, and purchasars of more lawfull purchase. But a cosener in a dycing-howse that shall thryue by his occupacion, and liue well with that hee hath got so ill, is as rare as a blacke swanne, and no exawmple to be showed of it in memory or history. Whearfore a dycing-howse may not vnfitly bee lykened to a barrene vnholsum iland standing in a tempestuows sea, lyke to some of those of the West Indyas) whear no sustenance colde bee had, nor no man wold lyve save for the shipwracke happening thearabout, wich helps them though vncertainly, and not ouer abundantly, to so much as mayntaynes*

lyfe and fowle, for in fuche fort, with the ruyn of infinit yowng gentlemen, the dycing-box mayntains a hungery famylee. Now for the cunning gamfters, who cannot often meet with a good market, but some tymes, when some good gulle comes owt of the cuntry, and knows not how to grace himfelfe in company but with play and good clothes, then doe those gallants draw a good hand or two, but for the moft parte they spend more then they gett, for, though to a good vse yow fhall feldome fee them geve vid. yet are they for all that exceeding prodigall in expence, fpecially on theyr back, and theyr belly, and beneath the belly, I meane in theyr fyne filke stockinges and Spanysh leather shoos, French garters, and moche Frenche befides, the procuringe whearof fomtyme, and fomtyme the curinge, and, after oft very diuacion, the recuringe is exceeding chargeable; all which charges are not eafily borne: Befide theare ys now fo many of that affociacion as much hinders the gayne of the fathers of that facultye: but if they gett nothing (as moft at home heere bee eyther fo wyfe with theyr deer bowght witt, as they will play no more, or fo poore with theyr now felt folley, as they can play no more) fo as now theyr cheefe hope is for owr yowng Captaynes to come ritch from the Indyas (but, if they gett, I fay, no good bootyes, yet they muft ftick to it, and liue by it, as the olde wall ftandes by helpe of that iver that was the firft caufe of rotting and vndercreeping the fowndacion thearof; fo that I may boldly conclude, that, though thear will euer

euere bee some fooles to be cosened, yet, as longe as thear is soch store of knaues that would cosen them, yet will grow euery day poor by this beggerly occupacion; and God send me quickly fatherles sonne, yf I had not rather one of my sonnes wear a tanker-bearer, that weares somtymes his filke sleeves at the church on Sunday, then a cosener that weares his fatten hose at an ordenary on Frydaie. But now I come to the last parte of this discowrse, and will shew some good vses of this kynde of counterfayt play, wiche, by reasons, by exhortations, by similitudes, and by exawmple, I doe soe earnestly labor to perswade.

Fyrst, therefore, I say, for those that haue been vsed to great play, and thearfore can take the lesse pleasure in small game, of the sudden, they shall with this fashon play lesse offend theyr fancye, and lesse alter theyr custome then suddenly to fall from powndes to shillinges; as wee see a chylde weaned from his teat by litle and litle, somtyme with a sucking botle, somtyme with making bitter the nurses nipples, then with other spoone meate, till at last hee makes no reckoning of childish milke, but falls to feed on more manly meat. Why should not a man bee as well content to wean himselfe from unproffyttable and vnmanly customes? I haue heard of one hath been so sicke of mallencolly, that hee hath thought his hed, or I thinke it was his nose, did fill all the chamber, (for many mens hedes fill greater roomes then they are ware of) now this man cowlde not be cured by any reason to prooue it was not lyke

to be so, nor by demonstracion to prooue yt was vnpossible to bee so, nor by sence to feele it was not so; but a far different means was vsed to cure him, by perswadinge him it was so, and feedinge a while that strange humor of his so longe till the same humor, and the same weaknes that fyrst moved that ymaginary malady, made him capable of that ymaginary cure; for, the phisycion coming into the patients chamber, at his very entry fownd fawlte that hee could not come to the beddes syde for the greatnes of the nose that filled all the chamber; yea, marry, sayd his pacient, it is to trew, how should it bee remedyed? Why, sayd hee, it must bee cutt till it bee less, and then be seared; and, presently calling for a hatchet, hee layd about him vpon the stools and formes, and, hauinge conveyed great gobbets of flesh into the chamber, bare him in hand they weare cut from that superfluous nose; at last, when hee came with his hott yron to seare it, lest it should bleed to much, the mallecolly man no sooner felt a little singinge of the hott yron, but hee fownd his nose restored to verry good proportion; so ended his mallecolly. But alas! they are sicke of a woorse mallecolly, that thinke eyther great play pleasawnt, or fallse play lawfull; and, though they bee not easely cured, yet my medcyn is as fitt and lyke to cure them as that I last recyted.

A second good vse of this cownterfet play is, that if men weare bownd indeed strictly to vse it (as for example, by her Majesties commaundement in her howse, or soch-lyke) it wold

would quickly take away, by one reason, bothe the greatnes and greedines in play, which I noted as two of the cheefest illis that play is subiect vnto; and by such a means did Lycurgus banish vsury and all kind of covetowines owt of his country.

For hee finding the cawse why men hoorded up gold and siluer was only becawse a little purse full of that would buy so many kynde of necessaryes both for vse and pleasure; I say hee presently made such an imbasement of mony in so extreame a degree, as all the currant mony was only of iron, and that tempered in vinegar, to make it good for no other vse; whearby it soone came to pass that no forren nacion browght them any new-fangled toyes to carry away theyr mony, nor no man covyted to haue great store of it, when it cold not be kept secret, and, if one would buy moch, hee must haue browght fower or fiue sumpters loden with with that coyn to buy that fouer or five soueraygns heer wold pay for. Now, if I doe not much mistake it, this practys of play I perswade hathe moche affinity with that law of Lycurgus; for if, duringe the tyme of play only, angells wear imbased to shillinges, or shillinges to pence, yt would bee such a cumber to play deepe play, that none would endure yt. If a man would have xl. in his reste, he muste have 100 l. sterling; if he wonne fyve pownd at a cast at dyce, he must tell over fiftye, which wear a paine rather then a pleasure.

3. Thirdly, a kynde of comodytie, though I cownt it but a small one, wear this, that by

vsynge this play a man shewld play for more franckly and lesse impaciently, when hee shewld play for so much mony indeed: As the Italian that imboldened himselfe so by vsing to stabbe a Dukes picture, that in the end hee stabbed the Duke himselfe.

And meethinke it so far vnfittinge for a Gentleman to chafe at his ill lucke as many will dooe, wheras it is indeed the losf of the mony, and not the game that makes them so choleryke; that somtymes I blush in theyr behalfe that, specially in the presence, will beate theyr fyfles on the boord, flinge the cardes under table, which in smaller game you shall neuer see them offer. And therfore to such specially I commend this play, as most fitt for them; whearin perhapps many will fynd theyr humor so well fitted, that they wil bee content neuer to prooue the greater play, but please themselves with this, which is gentlemanly for shew, little for losf, and pleasaunt for company and recreation.

A DIS-

A

DISCOURSE,

SHEWING

That ELYAS must personally come,
before the DAY OF JUDGMENT.

Wrytten by Sir JOHN HARYNGTON, 1590.

THE most learned and right reverent Father, Doctor Still, Byshop of Bath and Wells, propounded, one day, at his one table, a question to certayne learned dyvines which wear thear present, Whether the grace of God (or as wee commonly now doe call yt) whether iustifying fayth once had may bee lost or noe? And, to the entent men shewld the boldyer deliver theyr opinions, hee added, that this was no question of beleeve, nor a question between Papists and Protestants only, but evn among Protestants themselues, and those the most learned that are at this day in this realm. The lyke, yea the verry same, I may trewly say of this question now in hand, of which many lerned men wryte dowtfully in this age, some thinke

thinke hee was past longe since, some that hee came of late, some that his cominge is to bee vnderstood by allegory, and some that hee shall come indeed really and in parson; of which opinions as I will not say but any may be defended, without breach of charytie, so I must confes I take the last to bee trewest, and the most probable, and that I will now goe about to prooue these fowr ways :

Fyrst, by the word and letter of the Skrypture.

Secondly, by the naturall and ryght interpretation and meaning of the same, as others haue expownded yt.

Thirdly, by a generall tradycion.

Fowerthly, by the opinions of the Fathers, and the reason that lead them so to thinke; and, for the conclusion, I will set downe at some length, St. Awstin's own words owt of two severall and excellent tretyfes of his to this purpose.

1. For the Skriptures then I finde fower speciall places that, withowt any wringing or wresting, doe affirme and imply as moche; or to say as I thinke, withowt muche strayinge and turninge, cannot other-wyse yn the playn and naturall sence bee understood.

1. The fyrst is the fowrth of *Malachy*, in these words, speaking vnto the Jews, *Mal. iv. 5. Beholde I will send to you Elyas the Prophet, before the great and horrible day of the Lord* (dies magnus et horribilis) *shall come, and hee shall turne that bart of the fathers to the children, and the* parts

barts of the children to the fathers, least haply when I come I should smyte the whole earth with a curse.

2. The second place is in the booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, *Eccl. xlviii. 9.* Which was taken vp in a whirlwynd of fyre, in a charret of syery horses; '*Qui inscriptus es indicijs temporum lenire iracundiam Dei, etc.*' for so it is in the Latten. 'Thow that art written of in the recordes of tymes to pacyfie the wrath of God,' to reconcytle the harte of the father to the sonne, and to restore the trybes of *Jacob*; though owre common Englysh agreeth not fully with it. No more doth it with that of *Enoke*, which in the Latten text is playne, *Eccl. xlv. 16. Enoch placuit Deo et translatus est in paradysum ut det gentibus pœnitentiam, or sapientiam.* That is, *Enoch* pleased God and was taken up to paradyse to geeve penitence to the Gentiles; owr Englysh sayth, therefore was hee translated, for an example of repentaunce to the generations: of which translacion (under reformation) I see no good reason.

The thirde place ys in the xviith of *Matthew* (which wee cold not fynde last Sonday when wee fowght it so earnestly.) The words be thease: owr Saviour sayth, *Certaynly Elyas must first come and restore all thinges. But I say unto you, Elyas ys come, etc.*

The fowerth place is in the xith of the *Apocalypse*, 3 v. *I will geeve power to my two witnesses, and they shall prophecye 1260 dayes, clothed in sackclothe; thease are two olyve trees, etc.*

The fyrst of these places (as the principall & vppon wich all the rest seem to be grownded) *Peeter Martir*, in his *Common-places*, obiects agaynst

agaynst his own opinion, and then awnswers yt, but indeede so sleightly, as no man of indifferent iudgment, and not blinded with preiudyce, but will soone satisfy himselfe in it. For hee sayth that this great and horrible day of the Lord is the day of his natyvytie or incarnation, or the tyme of his being heer, which (sayth hee) to all infidells and vnbeeleevers, may bee well sayd to bee terrible, becawse yt is the cawse of theyr greater damnation. Now, admitte this bee trew in some sort, yet (vnder favor of so great a clarke) I cannot beleeeve but those woords of Malachy geve vs to vnderstande a far more dredfull day. For terror and horror is more in the shew and expectawnce, then in the prooffe and effecte of dawnger, as daylie experyence teacheth vs, of many that are moch terryfied and litle hurt, and many that were slayne and maymed and yet but litle terryfied. Allso wee see somtymes a good penytent Chrystian, heeringe some good sermon of the wrath of God, and paines of hell, goes from it with great terror and concussyon of spirit, when the carelesse Chrystian, or the open Atheyst (whose part ys greatest thearin) goeth thence not only voyd of terror, but oft tymes full of skorne. Further, I say this tyme of the fyrst coming of owr Savyowr is so far, in the common phrase of the Skripture, from being called *the great and horrible day*, that it hath contrary denominacions in all places theareof. Yet it is called *the acceptable tyme, the tyme of safety, the peasable tyme, the ioyfull tyme, the glad tydings*; nothing but sweet, mylde, humble, marcyfull; from his concep-

conceptyon, when his mother sayd, *Ecce ancilla Domini*; from his natiuetye, when the Angell tolde the sheppardes, *Ecce evangelizo vobis*: At what tyme they fownde the Sauour of the world layde in a mawnger; till his very passyon, when himselfe sayde, *Ecce homo*, and was after nayled on the crosse: I say, hee passed all this tyme in all meekenes, in prayer, in peace, in pacience, in poverty; healing, helping, teaching the lame, the needy, the ygnorant; of which tyme it was longe before prophcyed by Esayas: *Non contendet neq; clamabit. Arundinem quassatam non confringet, etc.* 'A brused reed shall hee not breake, and smoking flax shall hee not quench till hee bring foorth iudgment vnto victory.' Who then can say, or who will beleewe them that will say, that his fyrst commynge could be ment in those wordes, *Magnus dies et horribilis*? Beside, this phrase, *dies Domini*, is ever distinguishd by the learned from all other dayes to signify (*καλα εφοχνη*) the speciall day of Iudgment. St. Paul sayth, *Dies Domini declarabit, quia in igne reuelabitur: The daye of the Lord shall declare (every mans worke) for in the fyer is shalbe revealed.* This day and thys fyer Peeter Martir (who I am seure will admitte no Purgatory fyer between this and the last day) must needes confesse to be the daye of Iudgment. Now, how properly that daye may bee called great and horrible, when the trumpets shall sound, the earth quake and burne, the heauens vanysh, the sunne be darkened, the ded ryse to Iudgment: I trust I need not moche dylate, syth no Christen that hiers it

it but beleeves it, and none can thinke of it but trembles at it; of which it is said, *Vix iustus*. Skarce the iust can stand vnterryfied at that dreadfull day. Let that day therefore be cownted and called worthyly, trewly, properly, and onely *Dies Domini magnus et horribilis*.

Yet thear remayns, in apparawnce rather then in substawnce, one small obiection abowt this place of *Malachy*, because in the beginning of the same chapter he doth playnely prophecy of the comming of Christe, and of the raysing of the Sonne of Iustice, which is interpreted of the Natyvitie; and then that of Elyas folowing so immediately may seem only to be promised and performed in Iohn Baptist. But the learned know that it is vsvall in the hollye Skripture not only for one place to haue more meanings then one, but allso for one prophecye to sygnifye more tymes then one; so this, not excluding the fyrst comwing of Chryst, as a mylde Savyor, with Iohn Baptist, his forerunner, yet doth most evydently and especially note the second comming of the same Christ as a terrible Iudge with Elyas before him. We haue many exammples of the like, but lett one serue. Christ himselfe prophycieth of the destruccion of Ierusalem and of the end of the world all in one place, at one tyme, with one and the same wordes; yet wee all know that one of thease is past 1400 yeer since, and the other is to come, God knoweth what hunderds of yeeres hence; and so moch for this first and cheefe place of *Mallachy*. The second place of *Ecclesiastycus* I shall not need stand long on, for I thinke no

man will say thear canne bee any fygure in eyther of the places, but that needs hee must mean that Enoche that was taken vp (as Sa^t Pawle also speaketh,) and that Elyas that was taken up in the charret, which must come to restore the tribes of Iacob; who wear never yet restored, as themselves and all the world will confesse. Yf obiection bee made against the booke, let those that haue awtorytie desyne whether yt bee cannonycall; a wyse and a reuerent booke yt is, and thearefore I regard yt.

3. The third place of the xviith of *Mathew*, as one way it seemes to make most playne for that by saying *Elyas shall indeed come*, so an other way it seems to move all the dowbt by adding that he *is come allredy*; thearfore this place wold aske to bee discreetly handled; and both the wordes, the tyme, the place, and other circumstances wold bee well consydered. The words have been before recyted; the tyme was vj dayes after his promys in the former chapter, that some thear *shold not taste death till they shall see the Sonne of man coming in his kingdome*. The place was on the top of a hygh hill, playn and open; the company was only 3 of the cheefe Apostles, Peter, Iames, and Iohn. The syght they saw was so marvelows as they weare so ravisht with it they knew not what they sayde: the charge they had was to say nothings of it before Christs ascensyon; then they asked this question vppon yt. Elyas they saw before (for no man maketh dowbt but they saw very Elyas) *How is it that the Scribes say Elyas must first come?* The awnswer is playn, *Elyas indeed shall come,*

come, and restore all things; and, for more playnes, the worde in the Greeke ys *ἔρχεται*, which ys not *must* fyrst haue come, but as I sayd afore, and as Beza translates yt, *ueniet, shall come*, and more playn in the old Latten, *uenturus est, ys to come*; this awnswer being made by the Trewth itselfe to his cheefe desciples to enstruct them, not further to entangle them, must without all exception bee most trewe. Now, whear our Savyor added, *But I say vnto yow Elyas is allredy come, etc.* which the desciples vnderstood of Iohn Baptist, this is also trew; but yet marke well the manner of speakinge, and then wee need not erre, for of force one of thease two (as St. Awgustin noteth) must be vnderstood in figure, the other in the letter. And to make yt short thus it must bee vnderstood: Elyas shall come indeed, that is, in parson; but, if they looke for an Elyas allredy to bee come, lett them thinke it to bee Iohn Baptist. But lett vs follow the rule of the new schoole men, and expownd Skripture only by Skripture, the hard place by the easye. Lett this be the hard place, because of *ueniet* and *venit*. Beholde an easye place to expound it by, in the first of *Luke*; heere you shall finde whear to vse the figure, heere you shall learn how to beleee the letter. Iohn Babtist sayth, *Hee shall goe before our Savyowr* *ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει*, in the spirit and virtue of Elyas; then, whear it is sayd hee is come, thear look for the spjrit and virtew of Elyas; but, when it is sayd *hee shall come*, then looke for Elyas himselfe. Marke also in the xi of *Matthew*, where Christ sayd that Iohn was Elyas,

yet

yet is it with this mittigacion, *et si vultis recipere,*
if yee will so vnderstand it; yet is it with this
 addycion, (whereby the learned haue ever ob-
 serued some mistery) *Hee that hathe eares to heer,*
lett him heer. Which vnderstanding, that you
 may know not to bee myne, that is, a yowng
 mans, ygnorant & vnskillfull, but St Awgus-
 tins, a graue man, a learned Byshop, and an
 excellent Docter, I will as I promised, in the
 end heereof, sett downe his owne words. But
 heer I might by the waye take iust occasyon, ha-
 vinge so playnly distinguisht theyr parsons, I
 mean Iohn and Elyas, to compare togeather
 theyr spirits, the likenes whearof hath cawfed,
 for lacke of good vnderstanding, theyr parsons to
 bee confownded; wich I will runne ouer verry
 breefely to avoyd moch prolixitye. Fyrst, bothe
 of them weare excellent prophets, both of
 them lyved lyke ermits in a desert, both ware
 a gerdle of a skinne abowt theyr loyns, both
 of them vsed extraordinarye food, both of them
 reprovved the wickednes of theyr Princes, both
 of them weare persecuted by the same Princes
 with all extremitye: Why should wee not then
 beleewe, that both of them showld serve one
 God; own Chryste as forerunners one of this
 first comminge, the other of his second com-
 ming? And why showld wee then beleewe
 that, if one bee come in sperit, the other may
 not come in parson? for sperit and parson are
 two things; the sperit of Elyas rested doble on
 Elyzeus (or, as our common Englyshe well
 noteth, two partes of it rested on him, devi-
 dinge it in three, which is more lyke) yet no
 man

man will say but they weare distincte parsons. But, to conclude this 3 prooffe by Skriptures, I will ad only this one testimony of Iohn Babbitt himselfe, who is well to bee beleueed ; and hee beyng asked of the Iews, *Art thou Elyas ?* (a question very apt to discyde this controverfy) hee sayd playnly, *I am not.*

4. The fowarth and last place of Skripture is that of the two witnesses in the 11th of the *Apocalipse* ; which being vnderstood of Elyas and Enocke receav a playne, a familyar, an easye, & a probable vnderstanding ; being taken other wyse is subiect to 100 cavells : Of which place I wyll say more in the reason following.

2. The second reason I yndertooke to proove this my posycion by is the naturall & trew sence of the Skriptures as learned men vnderstand them, who as they are dewly to be respected in all tymes, yet those are most without exception that are most awncyent, & consequently furthest of from the wofull schismes of this tyme, and freest from all parcialityes : Lett vs then breefly examin the meaning of this last text of the *Apocalipse*, that hath been so often commented vppon, and with indifferencye way what the trew vnderstanding thereof is, or, as neer as wee can iudg, who haue come neereft to it ; whether they that say it shalbee Elyas and Enocke, or they that say otherwise ; for learned men wryte very diversly of it. St. Austen is browght of each syde :

Magno se iudice quisq; tuetur.

But

But to begin with that I take to bee most probable. Read well, I pray you, but the whole text, and you will soone I hope bee of my opinion. To bee *two witnesses* (the Greek word is *μαρτυρες*) eyther in teaching or suffering; *two candlesticks*, in carrying of lyght; *two olyve trees*, in bearyng good fruyt; *two prophets*, in preaching 3 yeer and haulf; then to bee clothed in sackloth; to kyll theyr enymyes with syer; to shut heaven, that it shall not rayn (as Elyas did); to turn water into blood; to stryke the earth with plags; to bee slayn; to ly ded & vnburyed 3 dayes and haulfe; to ryse agayne to convert the Iewes, and so to assend vp to heaven in the syght of theyr enymies: All these thinges, I say, may sewt with two soch great prophets; and so doth owr cowntry man the venerable Beda; so doth Hyppolytus the martyr; so doth Gregory vnderstand this place. Whearas, on the other syde, indeed it yityeth mee to see how some of the late wryters weery themselues to strayn but som few of these to theyr fansyes, & God wot they goe not 3 stepps but they are quite myred. One wold haue Luther to bee Elyas, and the other reformers to bee Enocke; as if a sertayn number of two wear put for an vncertayn, as is sometime vsed, by a fygure called (). But that is esely confuted. For neyther did Luther convert the Iewes, neyther did hee call syre from heaven. Indeed hee excommunicated Pope Leo the Xth. (wich myselfe haue red in his works.) And hee vowtsafed to confer with one Iew, after moche sewt, rather for the witt

of

But

of the man, then for the will hee had to convert him. Thus the tale is tolde: That the Jew sent to Luther (who had fyrst refused to talke with him) to aske him, Whether was worse, of a Jew or the Devyll? Luther sayd, The Devyll. Then he askt Who was better, Christe or Luther? Hee awnswered, Christe. Then sayd the Jew, If that Christe vowtsafed to talke with the Devyll, Why not M. Luther with a Jew? Vpon which, as the talke goes, hee was admitted.

As for the other latter Doctors, though I wold bee glad to geue them all theyr dew, yet I know one obiection, that in the Papistes opinion excludes them from this place, wiche is, That they loue sylke better than sackcloth; and indeed it is far the fyner wearing.

Owr honest and not futtle but simple Fox (and, as one may say, the second Bede of England) spends many leaues in his comment on the *Revelacion*, to enforse, as hee takes it, a strong coniecture, that Iohn Hus and Ierom of Prague wear those two witnesses; the 3 yeeres and haulfe, the tyme of the cownsell that condemned them; the place, the cytie of Constance. But how vnprobable, yea, how vnpossible that is, is to manifeste. For these wear so far from consuming theyr enemyes with heauenly fyre, that them selues, poor men were wofully consumed with earthly fyre. They haue lyen ded, not 3 days and $\frac{1}{2}$, but almoste 200 yeer; so far from being soe prophets and wittnesses as showld er in no thing, that they, by his confession, erred in di-

uers thinges. No-body lookes for theyr ryfing till Doomes-day.

Perhapes theyr ashes myght fly vp into the ayr, but no noyse was herd to all them vp to heauen. No earthquake was felt in Constance at theyr death. Fynally, no man can imagin that cytie to bee the place whear ovr Lord was crucyied.

Now thear is a thyrd man, and that a very new wryter, that thinkes he goeth beyond all the world in expownding the *Apocalips*, but in my opinion goeth moch farther beyond himselfe: Hee, having new furbusht vp an old coment, svpposed to bee St. Awstens, flies in a hye pitch, lyke a falcon with those fethers, that, if they wear pluckt, wold proove him but a woodcocke; and hee, forsooth, will haue the two witnesss to bee the Old and New Testament. But how straungly hee apparrells, or rather disguyfeth them in sackcloth; how hee teacheth them to fet fyer and make want of water; how one of them hath been ded longer than alyue, namely, 1260 yeers; how the great earthquake fell only in Abbyes and Monestaries. Lastly, how Roome is come to bee the cytye whear ovr Lord was crucyfied (for I ame fewr none of his pure stampe beleue that Christ sayd to Peeter at Roome-gate, *Vado iterum crucifigi*). All thease thinges, I saye, passe my capassytie, and must admitt many tropes and allegoryes ere they can be conceyued of, moch lesse consented vnto.

To omit how St. Awgustin, in his noblest worke, *De Civitate Dei*, seems to yeeld to that

other opinion, that Elyas must convert the Iewes ; of wich opinion hee sayth thus, as is more at large set down heereafter : *Celeberrimum est in sermonibus cordibusq; fidelium.* ‘ A famous, a common, a known matter in the mouths and harts of the faythfull.’

Now wich sence is most probable, wich men bee most credible, I leaue to the vnpartiall & vnpassionate reader.

3. My third grownd is tradycion ; a weake pillar yf it stand alone, but a strong stay whear it is thus supported. Thear was an old tradycion, taken from some Rabbyns of the Iewes, That the world showld last but 6000 yeer, 2000 before the law, 2000 in the law, and 2000 after the law : Or ellse, that, as the world was created in six dayes, and the seaventh sanctefyed, so it showld last for every day 1000 yeer, and the seavnth the eternall saboth. Yt is but a poor prooffe that men haue of this in the Skripture, because David sayth, in one of the Salmes, *1000 yeer is with God but as a day;* howbeyt, the wryters of all sydes reiect not this tradycion.

Thear was a common tradycion of old tyme, that the world shold bee burned ; Ovid had receaued yt, as appeares by his verses that wee learned in Eaton : *Esse quoq; in fatis reminiscitur affore tempus,*

*Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaq; regia cœli
Ardeat, et mundi moles operosa laboret.*

This

This hee could not fynde in the Old Testament, and no part of the New was then wryten. Now, since the Word hath approued this tradycion, What shold I speake of the Assumpcion of our Lady? of which I know no awtor but the Almanak, or some old leases that appoynt mony to bee payd at the Assumpcion; and yet to deny it would be cownted great presumpsyon in St. Awgustins opinion, who wrytes a pithye discowrse, though short, to prooue it owght to bee beleewed. For, as for the opinion of St. Iohn the Evangelyst, whome some affyrme to bee yet lyving, I will say no more then you shall fynde in Ariosto:

That holly Iohn, whome Christe did hold so
deere,

That the rest thought hee deathe should
never see,

Though in the Skripture it appers not cleer.

But thus hee sayd, What if it pleaseth me,
O Peeter, that thy fellow tary heere

Vntill my comming, What is that to
thee?

So, though our Saviowr not directly spake it,
Yet fewr it is so every one did take it.

These and such-lyke tradycions, though I
will not say they bynd our beleefe as infallible
trewth, yet they lead it as strong preiudyces,
and, as it is fondnes to affyrme them to earnestly,
so it is rashenes to reiect them to contemtu-
ously.

Now, that this of a second comming of the
D 2 prophet

prophet Elyas was a tradycion among the Iews appeers by the Descyples question: *How is it that the Iews say, Elyas must first come?* And that it is an old tradycion of the Chrystians appeers by the testimony of Arethus, an old wryter, who sayth, *Invariabiliter a tota ecclesia credi.* 'Yt is beleeeved vnvaryably of the whole church.' How great a presumfyon is it for one man to vary from that the whole church hathe helde vnvaryably? St. Awgustin, in the viiith chapter of his 22d booke *De Civitate Dei*, sayth, 'That hee that will not beeleeue those miraculows and prodigiows works to haue been donne, that all the world beleeus to haue been donne, ys himself a prodigious monfter and miracle: So mee thinke I may say, that hee that reiects that opinion which the whole church hath receaved is hymselfe worthy to bee reiected.

4. The fowrth and last reason is the opinions of the fathers; which in the second reason I had cawse to towche for the expofycion of the xjth of the *Apocalips*, that hygh & mystycall booke; and it wear halfe rydiculows for mee to bee curyous or copyous in cyting theyr awtorytie whom skarce my yeers and moch less my professiyon haue giuen mee leysure to reed; so, as for them I dooe reed, I must say as owr Vedantius in Cambridge did, *Vt ait Aristoteles, quemadmodum accepi ab aliis*; so I may say on other mens credyt, that St. Hillary, Orygen, Chrysostome, Hierom, and all that expownd St. *Mathew's* Gosnell, vnderstand, and beleeeue, and teach, that Elyas himselfe shall come.

That

That all that write on the epistle to the *E-brews* interpret the Apostles speech in the xjth chapter literally; that both Elyas and Enoke are yet lyving is the opinion of Ireneus, Tertullyan, Ierom, and Epiphanius.

And the reason, that some wryters alleadge for theyr soch opinion, is this, That it is most probable that these two are so longe and so myraculowly preserved in the fleshe, to doe some soch worthy exployt as to confownd the great Antichrist, *the man of sinne*; to convert the Jews, and make *ut sit unus pastor, unum ovile*; 'one shepard one fold;' and to conform the world to God, *ne Deus veniens percutiat terram anathemate*, 'least the Lord at his comming shold stryke the whole earth with a curse.'

But now, for a full conclusion of this question, and to doe as owr Saviowr did, in so sober a banket as this, keep the best wyne for the last, I will finish this discowrse with St. Augustins own words, owt of two his best and best allowd treetyfes; whose only awtoryty (I know not by what speciall pryveledge) ys held awthentyke of all fydes. Thus hee sayth, in his 29th chapter of the xxth booke *De Civitate Dei*:

'When he had warned them to remember the lawe of Moses, foreseeing that they of longe tyme should not spiritually vnderstand it as they ought, hee added incontinently, *Behold, I will send unto Elyas the Thesbite before the great and notable day of the Lord come, who shall turne the*

harte of the father to the sonne, and of a man to his neighbor, least happely I comminge should destroy.'

Now it is a common and receaved oppinyon in the hartes and mowthes of the faythfull, that the Iews shall beleewe in the trew Christe, that is, in our Christe, in the last day before the generall Iudgment, the lawe being expownded unto them by this great and wonderfull Prophett Elyas; for he himselfe not vnwoorthely is expected to com before the coming of our Savyour Christe, who now also not vnwoorthely is thought to live: for the Scripture dothe playnly showe, that he was taken vp in a fyery charyott from the earth. When hee therfore shall com to expownd the lawe spiritually, which the Iews—*Desunt Caetera.*

PSALMES,

Translated by the

COUNTESSES

OF

PEMBROKE.

PSALME LI.

I.

O LORDE, whose grace no lymitts comprehend ;

Sweet Lorde, whose mearcyес stand from measure free,

To me that grace, to me that mearcy send ;

And wype (O Lorde) my finnes from sinfull me ;

O clense (ô washe) my fowle iniquity :

Clense still my spotts, still wash away my staynings,

Till staynes and spotts, in me, leaue no remainings.

D 4

II. For

II.

For I, alas, acknowleging, do knowe
 My fillthy fault, my faulty fillthyne
 To my soules eye vncessantly doth shoue ;
 Which donne, to thee, to thee I doe confes,
 Iust Iudg, trew witnes ; that for righteowfnes
 Thy doome may passe, against my guilt a-
 warded ;
 Thy evydence for trewth may be regarded.

III.

My mother, loe, when I beganne to bee,
 Conceaving me, with me did sinne conceive;
 And, as with lyvinge hatt she cherisht me,
 Corruption did lyke cherishing receive :
 But, loe, thy loue to purest good dooth
 cleave ;
 And inward trewth, which, hardly ells dis-
 cerned,
 My trewant soule in thy hid schoole hath
 learned.

IV.

Then (as thy selfe to leapers hast assigned)
 With hysope, Lorde, with hysope purge
 me foe,
 And that shall clense the leapry of my mynde:
 Make over me thy mearcy's streames to flow:
 So shall my whitenes scorne the whyttest snow:
 To eare and harte send fownds & thowghts of
 gladnes,
 That bruised bones may leave away theyr
 sadnes.

V.

Thy ill-pleased eye from my misdeeds avert ;
 Cancell the registers my sinnes contayne ;
 Create

Create in me a cleane, pure, spottles hart;
 Inspire a spiritt whear loue of right may raigne,
 And cast me not from thee; take not agayne
 Thy breathing grace; againe thy comfort send
 me,
 And lett the guard of thy free Spirit atend me.

VI.

So I to them a guiding hand wilbee,
 Whose faulty feete haue wandred from thy
 way,
 And, turnd from sinne, will make returne to thee,
 Whome, turnd from thee, sinne erst had
 turnd astray.

O God, God of my helth, O doe away
 My bloody cryme; so shall my tounge bee
 rayfed
 To prayse thy trewth, enough cannot bee
 prayfed.

VII.

Vnlocke my lipps, shutt vp with sinfull shame;
 Then shall my mowth (O Lorde) thy honor
 singe,
 For bleeding fewell for thy altars flame,
 To gaine thy grace, what boots it me to
 bringe?

Burnt-offerings are to thee no plesant thinge:
 The sacryfice, that God will houlde respected,
 Is th'hart-broken soule, the sperit deiected.

VIII.

Lastly (O Lorde) how so I stand, or fall,
 Leaue not thy loved Syon to embrace;
 But with thy favor build vp Salems wall,
 And still in peace maintayne that peaceful
 place:

Then shallt thou turne a well-accepted face

To sacred fyers, with offerd guists perfumed,
Till even whole calves on altars bee consumed.

P S A L. CIV.

I.

MAKE, Oh my soule, the subiect of my
songe
Th' Eternall Lorde; O Lorde, O God of
myght,

To thee, to thee all Royall pomps belong;
Clothed art thou in state and glory bright;
For what is els this eye-delyghting lyght,
But vnto thee a garment wide and longe?
The vawted heauen, but a curteyne right,
A canapy thou ouer thee hast hounge?

II.

The rafters, that his parlors roofe sustayne,
In cheveron he on christall waters byndes;
Hee on the winde, hee on the clowde doth
raygne,

Ryding on clowdes, & walkinge on the
wyndes;
Whose wynged blastes his word as redy fyndes
To poste for him, as Angells of his trayne;
And, to effect the purposes hee myndes,
Hee makes no lesse the flamy fyer fayne.

III.

By him the earth a stedfast base doth beare,
And stedfast so, as tyme, nor force, can shake;
Which once rownd waters garmentlyke did
weare,

And hills in seas did lowly lodging take;
But seas from hills a swift discent did make,
When swelling hills by thee their children
wear;
Thy

Thy thunders rore did cause their conduits
quake,

Hasting their hast with spurr of hasty feare.

IV.

So waters fledd, so mowntaynes high did ryse ;

So humble vallys deeply did discend,

All to the place thow didst for them devyse ;

Where boundinge seas with vnremoued end,
Thow baddst they should no more themselues
extend

To hide this earth, which now vnhidden
lyes :

Yet, from the mowntaynes rocky syde, didst
send

Springes-whispring murmurs, riuers-roring
cryes.

V.

Of these the beastes, which on the playnes doe
feed,

All drinke their fill ; with these their thirst
allay

The asses wyld ; and all that wildly breed

By these in their selfe-chosen stations stay :

The free-borne fowles, that in the region play

Of yealding ayer, wasted with wynged speede,

To artlyke notes of Natures tuned lay,

Make earles bushes giue attentyue heede.

VI.

Thow, thow, of heavns the windoes dost
vnlose,

Dewing the mowntaynes with thy bowntys
rayne ;

Earth great with young her longing doth not lose ;

The hopefull plowman hopeth not in vayne :

The rarer herbe man for himselfe hath chose;
 The vulgar gras wherof the beast is fayne;
 All thinges, in breefe, that life in life mantayne,
 From earths owld bowells fresh and younger
 grows.

VII.

Then wyne, the counterpoyson vnto care;
 Then oyle, whose ioye vnpleats the foulded
 brow;
 Then bread, owr best, I say not dayntiest fare,
 Prop yet of harts, which ells wold weakly
 bow.
 Then, Lorde, thy loued people budd & blow;
 Whose Princes thow (thy cedars) dost not
 spare
 A fuller draught of thy cupp to allow,
 That highly rayfed aboue the rest they are.

VIII.

Yet, highly rayfed, they doe not proudly
 skorne
 To giue small birdes an humble entertayne,
 Whose brittle neasts are in their branches
 borne,
 Whiles in the firrs the storckes a lodging
 gayne:
 So highest hills, rockes, loving goates sustayne,
 And haue their heads with climbing traces
 worne,
 That safe in rockes the cunnies may remayne;
 To yealde them caues, their rocky ribbs are
 torne.

IX.

Thow makest the moone (the Empress) of the
 nyght
 Holde

Holde constant course, with most inconstant
face ;

Thow makest the sunne (the charret man of
lyght)

Well know the start & stopp of dayly race :
When hee doth sett, and nyght his beames
deface,

To rove abroad wood-bvrgeffes delight,
(Lyons I meane) who, roaringe all that space,
Seeme then, of thee, to craue their food by
right.

X.

When hee returnes, they all from feild retyre,
And lay them downe in caue (their home)
to rest ;

They rest ; man workes, to winne a workmans
hyre,

And workes, till sonne hath wrought his way
to rest.

Eternall Lorde ! who greatest art, and best ;
How I, amazed, thy mighty works admire !
Wisedome, in thee, hath every worke possesse,
Whereto, in me, no wisedome can aspire.

XI.

Beholde the earth, how thear thy bountys flow ;
Looke on the sea, extended hugely wyde ;
What watry troopes there swimme, creepe,
craule, and goe,

Of great, of small, on this, that, euery side.
Thear the sayle-wynged shipps on waves doe
glide ;

Sea monsters there their plays and pastymes
shoe ;

And all at once, in seasonable tyde,
Their hungry eyes on thee their feeder throe.

XII. Thow

XII.

Thow giust, they take; thy hand it selfe dis-
plays,

They filled full with plenties of thy hand;
All darkned ly, depryved of thy rayes;

Thow takst theyr breath, not one can longer
stand:

They dye, they turne to former dust & sand,
Till thy life-geving Sperit doth mustering
rayse

New companyes to reenforce eache band,
Which, still supplied, neuer whole decays.

XIII.

So may it, Oh! so may it ever goe;

Iehouahs workes his glorious gladnes bee;
Who towching mountaynes, mountaynes smok-
ing groe;

Who eying earth, earth quaks with quiver-
ing knee.

As for my selfe, my feely selfe in mee,

Whilst life shall last, in songe his works to
shoe

I framed haue a resolute decree

Thankfull to bee, till beeing I foregoe.

XIV.

Oh that my song might good acceptance finde

How should my hart in great Iehouah ioye!

Oh that some plague this irreligious kynde,

Ingrate to God, would from the world
destroy!

Meane whilest, my soule, vncessantly employ,

To high Iehouahs prayse, thy mowth and
mynd;

Nay all, fith all his benefits enioye,

Prayse him, whome bowndes of tyme no
age can bynde!

PSALME

P S A L M E CXXXVII.

I.

NYgh seated whear the Tyger was,
 That watereth Babells thankfull playne,
 Wich then our teares, in pearled roes,
 Did helpe to water with their raine :
 The thought of Syon bred such woes,
 That, though owr harpes wee did retayne,
 Yet, vseles & vntowched thear,
 On willowes only hanged they wear.

II.

Now, whillst owr harps wear hanged foe,
 The men, whose captyves then wee lay,
 Did on our greefs insulting grow,
 And, more to greive vs, then did say :
 You, that of musick make such shoe,
 Come, singe vs now a Syon lay.
 O no ! we haue nor voyce, nor hand,
 For such a song, in such a land.

III.

Though farr I bee, sweet Syon hill,
 In forraigne soyle exilde from thee,
 Yet lett my hand forget her skill,
 If euer thou forgotten bee :
 Yea, lett my tounge, fast glewed still
 Vnto my roose, lye mvte in mee,
 If thy neglect in me doe springe,
 Or ought I doe, but Salem sing.

IV.

But thou, O Lorde, wilt not forgett
 To quitt the paines of Edomes race,
 Who caueslesly, yet hottly, sett
 Thy holly citty to deface ;

Did

Did thus the bloody victors whett,
 What tyme they entred first the place :
 ' Downe, downe with it at any hand ;
 Make all flatt, playne let nothing stand.'

V.

And, Babilon, wich didst vs wast,
 Thy selfe shalt one day wasted bee,
 And happy hee, who what thow hast
 To others donne shall doe to thee :
 Lyke miseryes shall make thee tast,
 Lyke woefull objects make thee see ;
 Yea, blessed who thy litle ones
 Shall take and dash against the stones.

P S A L M E LXIX.

I.

TRoublous seas doe mee furrownde ;
 Saue, O Lord, my sinking soule,
 Sinking wheare it feeles no grounde,
 In this gulfe, this whirling hole ;
 Wayghting ayde with earnest eying,
 Calling God with bootles crying :
 Dymme and drye in mee are fownde
 Eyes to see, and throate to founde.

II.

Wrongly sett to worke mee woe,
 Haters haue I more then haire ;
 Force, in my afflicting foe,
 Bettring still in me ympaires,
 Thus to pay, and last constrayned,
 What I never owght or gayned :
 Yet, saide I, Thou, God, doste knowe
 How my faultes and follyes growe.

III. Mygh-

III.

Myghtie Lorde, lett not my case
 Blanke the reſte that truſt in thee;
 Nor lett Iacobs God deface

All thy freinds, in bluſhe of mee.
 Thine it is, 'tis thine owne quarrell
 Delyghts me thus in ſhames aparrell;
 Mote nor ſpott, nor leſſe diſgrace,
 But for thee, could tainte my face.

IV.

To my freindes a ſtranger quite,
 Quite an alien am I growne;
 In my very brethrens ſight
 Moſt vncared, moſt vnknowne.
 With thy Temples zeale out-eaten,
 With thy ſlanders ſcourges beaten,
 Whilſt the ſhott of pearcinge ſpite,
 Bent at thee, on mee doe light.

V.

If I weepe, and weeping faſt;
 If in ſackcloth ſadd I mourne,
 In my teeth that firſt they caſt,
 All to ieſte the laſte they turne.
 Now the ſtreetes with publique prating,
 Pouring forth their inward hating;
 Private now, at banquetts plaſt,
 Singing ſonges of wyny taſte.

VI.

As for mee, to thee I pray,
 Lorde, in tyme for grace aſſigned:
 Gracious God, my kindeſt ſtaye,
 In my ayde be truly kynde;
 Keepe mee faſt, vnſunke and myred,
 Sauſe from flow in foes retired;

Calme

Calme theise waves; theise waters lay,
Leaue not mee this whirlpooles play.

VII.

In that goodnes of thy grace,
Lorde, make answere to my mone;
Eye my ill, and rue my case,
In those mearcies tolde by none;
Lett not, by thy absence, languishe
Thy trewe servant, drownd in anguifhe;
Harke and heare; come, come apace;
Free my soule from foemans chace.

VIII.

Vnto thee what needs be tould
My reproche, my blott, my blame?
Sith both this thow didst behold,
And canst all my haters name:
Whilst afflicted, whilst harte-broken,
Waighting still some freindships token;
Still I looke that some man woulde
Looke, but founde all comforte colde.

IX.

Comforte nay (not seene before)
Needinge meate, they gaue me gall,
Vineger they filde me flore,
When for drinke my thirst did call.
O then snare them in their pleasure,
Make them trapt even in their treasure;
Gladly sad, and richly poore;
Sightles most, yet mightles moore.

X.

Soune vpon them fury rayne,
Light thy indignation downe;
Turne to wast and desert plaine
Howse and pallace, fielde and towne.

Lett not one bee leste abidinge,
Where such rancor had residinge;
Whom thou painest more they paine;
Hurte by thee to them is stayne.

XI.

Causing synn no synn to grow,
Add such ciphers to their f
Never lett them righter goo,
Never to thy iustice come;
But from out thy booke bee crossed,
Wherin good men been engrossed;
Whilst my God mee poore and loe
High shall mounte from need & woe.

XII.

Then, by me, his name with praise
Gladsome prayers shall adorne;
For that more Iehouah wayes,
Then the beast with hoofe and horne.
With what ioye, how gladly greved,
Shall their hartes bee then releived,
When Iehouah taketh such wayes
Bounde to lose, and false to raise?

XIII.

Laude him, then, O heavenly skyes,
Earth with thine, and seas with yowrs;
For by him shall Syon rise:
He shall buyld vp Salems towers;
There his servants, and their race,
Shall, in fee, possess their place;
There his name who lawd and prize
Stable staye shall eternize.

The

The Manner of the GIFTS by the
Kings of ENGLAND vnto
their ELDEST SONNES.

The Distinction of Times, in the Distribution of Honors by the Kings of ENGLAND vnto their Eldest Sonnes.

EDWARD, eldest sonne of Hen. 3, was created by his father, at 14 yeeres, Prince of Wales, Earle of Chester, Duke of Aquitain, and Lieftenant of Ireland, Anno 38 H. 3.

Edward, eldest sonne of Edw. 1, was created by his father, at 16 yeeres, Prince of Wales, Earle of Chester, and Earle of Cornwall, Anno 29 Edw. 1; and afterwards Duke of Aquitain, Anno ; and afterwards knighted him at 21 yeeres, and 300 more in honor of him, Anno 34 Ed. 1.

Edward, eldest sonne of Edw. 2, was first created by his father Earle of Chester, Anno 6 Ed. 2; and afterwards Prince of Wales and Duke of Aquitain, Anno 14 Edw. 2.

Edward, the Black Prince, eldest sonne of Edw. 3, was first created by his father Earle of Chester, Anno 7; and afterwards Duke of Cornwall, Anno 11 Edw. 3; and after Prince of Wales, Anno 17.

Richard, eldest sonne of the Blacke Prince, was created by his grandfather Ed. 3. Prince of Wales, Earle of Chester, and Duke of Cornwall,

wall, Anno 50 Ed. 3; and constituted Liestenant in Parliament, his grandfather being sick, Anno 51 Ed. 3.

Henry, eldest son of Hen. 4, was created by his father Prince of Wales, Duke of Lancaster, Duke of Cornwall, Duke of Aquitain, Earle of Chester, Anno 1 Hen. 4; and afterwards Liestenant-generall in the marches of Wales, Anno 7; and Constable of Douer Castell, and Lord Wardein of the Cinq Ports, Anno 10.

Edward, eldest sonne of Hen. 6, was created by his father Prince of Wales and Earle of Chester, Anno 32; and knighted Anno

Edward, eldest sonne of Edw. 4, was created Prince of Wales and Earle of Chester, Anno 11 Edw. 4; and Liestenant in the marches of Wales, and afterwards, when he knighted him, he knighted also his younger sonne the Duke of York, and the sonnes and heires of diuers Earles and Lordes, and som Iudges, Anno .

Edward, eldest sonne of Rich. 3, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Chester, and Liestenant of Ireland, Anno 1 Rich. 3.

Arthur, eldest sonne of Hen. 7, was created Prince of Wales and Earle of Chester, Anno 5; and had liuery of the dutchie of Cornwall, eodem Anno; and afterwards was constituted a Iustice of Peace in the counties of Salop, Hereffe, and Gloucester, Anno 8, and made Warden of the marches of England towards Scotland.

Henry, sonne of Hen. 7, (after the death of Arthur) was created Prince of Wales and Earle of Chester, Anno 19 Henry 7; and, whereas he

he was before Duke of Yorke, Earle Marshall of England, Lieftenant of Ireland, and Gardien of the Cinq Ports, the King his father resumed from him the dukedom of Yorke by Parliament,

The solemn Creacion of the PRINCES OF WALES.

Henry, eldest sonne of Hen. 3, and Edward, eldest sonne of Edw. 1, and Edward, eldest of Edw. 2, are said by the best chroniclers to haue bine created Princes of Wales by consent of Parliament; but there are noe records extant of there creacions.

The Black Prince, and all the rest of the succeeding Princes, were created with consent of Parliament, and the records of there creacions are extant.

The Royalty and Investure of the PRINCES OF WALES.

And Richard, sonne of the Black Prince, after he was created Prince of Wales, was caused by his grandfather Edward 3. to sitt at his table in high estate, as heir apparant.

And Hen. eldest sonne of H. 4, was solemnly created and invested Prince of Wales, in open and full Parliament, wher the King himselfe, sittinge in his royall seat, and performing all the due cerimonies unto him, kissed him and gave him his charter in his hand, and soe caused him

him to be led by the Duke of Yorke (the King's
uncle) vnto the place assigned unto him in Par-
liament, as Prince of Wales.

The Creacion of EARLES and LORDES in Honor of them.

When Hen. 3 created his eldest sonne Prince
of Wales, he then made his younger sonne Earle
of Lancaster.

When Edw. 2 created his eldest sonne, he
made Hugh Spencer, the father, Earle of Win-
chester, and Andrew Harkley, Earle of Carliell.

When Edw. 3 created his eldest son Duke of
Cornwall, he created also 7 Earles.

When Edw. 4 created his eldest sonne Prince
of Wales, he created also Thomas Gray, the
Queens brother, Earle of Huntingdoh.

When Rich. 3 created his eldest sonne Prince
of Wales, he created also Edw. Grey Viscont
Lisle.

The TITLES and the POSSESSIONS graunted.

TITLES and OFFICES.

Prince of Wales. This tytle was first giuen
by Henry the 3 unto his eldest sonne.

Earle of Chester. This began likewise from
the said King.

Lieftenant

Lieftenant of Ireland. This began from H. 3, and after enioyed by the eldest sonne of Ric. 3, & H. sonne of H. 7.

Duke of Aquitain. This began from H. 3, and successefully continued vntill Hen. 6.

Earle of Cornwall. This began Anno 11 Ed. 3, and soe hath ever since continued.

Duke of Lancaster. This tytle was given only vnto Prince Hen. eldest sonne of Hen. 4.

Constable of Douer and Lord Wardein of the Cinq Ports. Enioyed only by the eldest sonnes of H. 4 and H. 7.

Lieftenant of the Marches of Wales. Enioyed by the eldest sonnes of H. 4, Ed. 4, & H. 7.

Lieftenant of the Marches towards Scotland. Enioyed by Arthur, eldest son of Hen. 7.

Earle of March and Pembroke. This tytle had Edw. eldest sonne of Edw. 4.

Lord of Biscay and Cordevals. This tytle had Prince Hen. eldest son of Hen. 4.

LANDS and POSSESSIONS.

Henry 3 graunted vnto his eldest sonne, the lands conquered in Wales, and Earledom of Chester, and castells of Bristowe and Stamford, with the lands therto, Anno 38; and sondry possessions in Ireland, eod. Anno 38; and the possessions of Aquitain, Anno 53; and graunted the custody of the Tower for 5 yeeres; by his deputy, Philip Bassett, Anno 54.

Ed. 1 graunted vnto his eldest sonne the principality

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cipallity of Wales, and the earldome of Chester, Anno 29.

Edward 2 granted vnto his eldest sonne diuers possessions in the isle of Wight, and alsoe at that tyme the earldome of Chester, Anno 6, and, afterwards the dukedome of Aquitain, and the county of Poictu, Anno 19 Edw. 2.

Edward 3 granted unto his eldest sonne, first, the earldome of Chester, Anno 7, and afterwards the dukedome of Cornwall, Anno 11, and the principallity of Wales, Anno 17; and afterwards the castell of Oxford, and the park of Macelseild, with the appurtenances, Anno 22, and afterwards a confirmation of the tymynes in Devon and Cornwall, with some increase of profits, Anno 36.

Henry 4 granted vnto his eldest sonne the principallity, the dukedome of Cornwall, and the earldome of Chester, Anno 1; and afterwards all arrerages of rents, Anno 2, and that diuers franchises in Couentry should be discharged out of the Exchequer, and be reputed parcell of the dukedome of Cornwall, Anno 3; and afterwards granted diuers possessions which came by forfeiture, Anno 6, and afterwards the goods and chattells of sondry persons which were outlawed, Anno 9.

Henry 6 granted unto his eldest sonne the principallity, the dukedome of Cornwall, and the earldome of Chester, Anno 32; and afterwards the castell and lordshipp of Buelst and Montgomery, reciting how the said lands did belong to the Prince, but yet were left out of his former

patent through the mediation of the Duke of York.

Edward 4 granted vnto his eldest sonne the principallity, the dukedome of Cornwall, the earldome of Chester, Anno 11, which was confirmed by the next Parliament, Anno 12; and afterwards he granted the castell and lordship of Nerbert, the lordship of Prestend, manor of Norton-Castell, lordship and borough of Radnor, and Buel, and Montgomry, Anno 17, and the castle and lordship of Ellwell in Northwall, Anno 18.

Henry 7 granted vnto Arthur, his eldest sonne, the principallity, and earldome of Chester, Anno 5, and gaue him liuery of the duchy of Cornwall, eod. Anno 5; and afterwards granted the castell and lordship of Wigmore, and the castell and lordship of Nerbert, and the lordship of Prestend, and manor of Norton, the castell, lordship, and borough of Radnor, and lordship of Meneleigh, castell of Cowles, &c. Anno (at will.)

And the said King Henry 7, after the decease of Arthur, did by Parliament resume, from his second sonne, the dukedome of York, with all the possessions therto, and gaue him the said principallity, and earldome of Chester, Anno 19 H. 7.

PRIVILEGES and PREHEMINENCES

Out of Parliament Rolls:

Contribucion of the people to the Prince at his créacion, 51 Ed. 3, Parl. Rol.

Powe

Power giuen by Parliament vnto the Prince to giue liueries to seruants at his pleasure, notwithstanding any statute, 14 Ed. 4. Parl. Pat. Rol.

The King, intending to make diuers Knights for the increase of the honor, lands, and triumph of his eldest sonn, doth provide by Parliament, that the actions and suites of such should not abate, 19 H. 7. Parl. Rol.

The Commons pray, that, in regard of the excessive alienacions of sondry possessions belonging vnto the Prince, soe that sufficient estate is not left without some new assignment; that it would please the King to make a resumption, which was yealded vnto, but with some cautions, 1 H. 4. Parl. Rol.

Enacted, vppon petition, exhibited to the Parliament-howse, that the Earle of Chester should hold and inioy all antient franchises and liberties entierly, H. 4. Parl. Rol.

Exception in the Parliament roll of the Princes land from paying eny 15th, 14 E. 4. Parl. Rol.

Out of Patent Rolls.

A speciall exemplification, for the behalfe of the Black Prince, of the names of all the Earles, Bishoppes, Knights, and others, which did homage vnto the eldest sonn of Edw. 1.

Writts in the behalfe of the Prince, in nature of writts of attendance, commanding the Sheriffs to proclaime the same, *in locis ubi melius expedire viderint*, 50 Edw. 3. Char. Rol.

Writts for priueledge for the Prince to be exempted from paying any fees for any of the Kings Seales, 23 E. 3. Pat. H. 4. Pat. 35 H. 6. Pat.

Speciall writts granted for the behalfe of the Prince, for making seasure of the goods and chattells of such as dyed indebted vnto the Prince: *Quia nolumus quod defraudetur.*

Writts *de intendend promisoribusque anona & feni et littore pro sustentacione equos & arma Domini Principis et pro equitijs suis necessarijs in locis ubi expedire viderint.* And the like, *Ad omnes cign' Principis in aqua Thamesis et rivul. custodiend.* 30 Ed. 3. Pat. Rol.

From the first yeere of Hen. 7, Prince Arthur was put first in every comission of peace; but in former Kings tymes there younger sonnes only were put firste in comissions, and not the Prince, Hen. 7. Pat.

Speciall protection granted by the King vnto the tennants of all the possessions of the Prince in his absence beyond seas, 36 Edw. 3. Pat. Roll.

Power and licence giuen by the King vnto the Prince to make his will and executors (being to go beyond seas) and, by a grant, Anno 20 E. 3. The executors of the Prince (if he chanced to dye) to haue all the profitts of his land, *a tempore mortis pro vno anno*; and after, by a larger grant, Anno 36 Ed. 3, to haue the said profitts *pro tribus annis*; and after, by a larger grant, Anno 40 E. 3, to haue them for *quatuor annis*, 20 36 40 E. 3.

The Prince being to goe beyond seas, the King constituteth by his Parliament the Archbishop and other great Lords to be overseers of his possessions, for his profit, untill his returne :
Vel donec aliud ab eodem filio nostro in mandatis habueritis, 20 E. 3. Pat. Rol.



The following Order of Council to the Lord Mayor of London is given to the Reader, as a Specimen of the Proceedings in the Reign of Q. ELIZABETH, from which he may draw his own Conclusions, on comparing the different Modes of Proceeding in different Times.

To the Lord Mayor of LONDON.

AFTER our right hartie commendacions, Whearas their hathe bene of late printed and published within that citie a certaine libell intituled, A Discoveringe of the gaping gulphe, &c. whearin the author hathe not onlie verie contemptuousslie intermeddled in matters of state towching her Majesties parson, but alsoe vttered certaine things to the dishonor of the Duke of Aniou, brother to the Frenche Kinge. Forasmuch as divers of the said books have been verie feditiousslie cast abroade, and secretlie dispersed into the hands of sondry of her Majesties subiects, as well the inhabitants of that citie, as in other parts of this realme; with an intencion, as muche as in them laie, to alter the mind of her Highness good and dewtifull subiects, and to drawe them into a suspition and misliking of her Majesties actions, as though the same tended to the preiudice of the realme, and subversion of the estate of true religion, nowe a longe time, by the goodnes of Almightye God, and her Highness authoritie, as God's Minister, established
and

and contynewed amongst vs) Albeit her Ma-
 iestie hath received suche an assured opinion of
 the loyaltie of her said subiects, and speciallie
 of the inhabitants of that her citie of London,
 that they will not soe easelie giue credit to any
 suche secret synister devises tending to the im-
 pairing and defacinge of her Highnes good pro-
 ceedings, especiallie in the pointe of religion,
 where shee hath willed vs to assure you, that shee
 desiereth no longer to live, then that shee shalbe
 a maintayner and vpholder of the same; yet for-
 asmuch on the one parte yt behoveth her Ma-
 jestie in honor to haue soe notorious an iniurie,
 done to soe great a Prince, her neighbour, whoe
 in suche kinde and confident sorte (all respect
 of perill and dainger layd aparte) vowchsafed to
 doe her Maiestie that honor to come and visit
 her, repaired by all the waies and meanes that
 any waie can be devised: soe, on the other
 side, hir Highnes is verie desierous, that as hi-
 therto she hath bene verie carefull (as by her
 doings hath well appeared) to maintaine and
 contynewe this realme, bothe in matters of pol-
 licie and religion, in such quiet and peaceable
 estate as hitherto shee hath done, and which
 never any Prince did more carefullie before; soe
 at this present yt sholde be knowen vnto her
 subiects what her meaning is; not by any treat-
 ing or dealing with the said Duke of Aniou,
 whoe, neither by himselfe nor his Ministers,
 dyd at anye time presse her to doe any thinge
 to the preiudice of this state, to innouate or in-
 fringe any thinge in the government which shee
 hath bothe established, and hytherto, by Gods
 E 4 goodnes

goodnes & affystaunce maintayned against sondry deslegnes and complotts of many enimes, of whome, the Lord be thanked, there is at present no souche great doubt as was heretofore to be conceiued: For these and other good considerations, to the intent that her said subiects giue not any credit to suche vntrewe and vaine suspitions, her Highnes hathe at this present caused a proclamation to be made in her name, to be printed and directed thither to be published, at the publishing whearof within that citie and liberties in place accustomed, her Majesties pleasure is, that you the Lord Mayor, accompanied with some good nombre of the Aldermen your bretherin, and the Shrives now, as in like cases hath bene accustomed, shoulde be presente; and further, for the better confirminge of the inhabitants of the said citie on her Maiesties sincere meaning towards theme, and the whole realme, it is alsoe thought convenient, and soe wee require your Lordship to call the Masters, Governors, and Wardens of the Company of the citie before you, and, in hir Highnes name, to commaund theme, that, appointinge some daie as soone as convenientlie maie be, for the assemblies in their severall halls of their companies, they doe cause the said proclamation and contents of these our letters to be openlie red and published, chardginge all and euerie person, vpon the penaltie contayned in the said proclamation, to bringe vnto the said Master, Governor, and Wardens, all such the said bookes, printed or written, as they or any of theme maie have. And bothe nowe, and
frome

frome tyme to tyme hereafter, to signifie what persons, to their knowledge, have, or maie have had any of the said bookes; which bookes ye shall chardge the said Master, Governor, and Wardens to bringe vnto you, with the names of the parties and manner how they came by theme, except in cases where any person shall willinglie bring the same themselves to lighte, to be distroyd accordinge to the content of the said proclamation. And thervpon shall, with as muche speed as you conuenientlie maie, perticulerlie certifie vs theiros, to th entent, if any person shall be found culpable, wee maie take such further order as shalbe thought expedient. And soe, earnestlie chardging you that hearof their be no defalt, as youe tender her Majesties favour, and will, upon your perill, aunswer the contrarie, wee byd you right hartelie farewell. From Gyddye-Hall, the 27. of Septembre, 1579.

Your Lordship's verie loving friendes,

BROMLEY, Canc. ✱ W. BURGHLEY.

ROB. LEYCESTER. ✱ H. HUNSDON.

✱ H. SYDNEY.

CHR. HATTON. ✱ FRA. WALSINGHAM

SIR R. CECIL,
 T O
 SIR J. HARYNGTON,
 M.DC.III.
 With Household RULES and ORDINANCES for SERVANTES.

Sir ROBERT CECIL to Sir JOHN
 HARYNGTON.

My Noble Knyght,

MY thanks come wythe your papers and wholesome statutes for your fathers householde. I shall, as far as in me lieth, paterne the same, and geue good heed for due observaunce thereof in my own state. Your father did muche affect suche prudence; nor dothe his sonne lesse followe his faire sample, of worthe learninge and honor. I shall not faile to keep your grace and favor quick and lively in the Kinges breaste, as far as good discretion guideth me, so as not to hazard my own reputation for humble suing, rather than bold and forward entreaties. You know all my former steppes; good Knyght, reste content, and give heed

heed to one that hathe sorrowde in the bright lustre of a Courte, and gone heavily even on the best seeminge faire grounde. 'Tis a great taske to prove ones honestye, and yet not spoil ones fortune. You have tasted a little hereof in our blessed Queenes tyme, who was more than a man, and, in troth, sometyme less than a woman. I wishe I waited now in your presence-chamber, with ease at my foode, and reste in my bedde; I am pushed from the shore of comforte, and know not where the wyndes and waves of a Court will bear me; I know it bringeth little comforte on earthe; and he is, I reckon, no wise man that looketh this waye to heaven; we have muche stirre aboute Councils, and more aboute honors. Many Knyghts were made at Theobalds, duringe the Kynge's staye at myne house, and more to be made in the citie. My father had muche wisdom in directing the State; and I wysh I could bear my parte so discretely as he did. Farewel, good Knyght; but never come neare London till I call you. Too much crowdinge doth not well for a cripple, and the Kynge dothe find scante room to sit himself, he hath so many friends as they chuse to be called, and Heaven prove they lye not in the ende. In trouble, hurrying, feigning, suing, and suche-like matters, I nowe reste.

29 May 1603.

Your true friende,

R. CECIL.

ORDERS for Household Servantes; first deuised by John Haryngton, in the Yeare 1566, and reneued by John Haryngton, Sonne of the saide John, in the Yeare 1592: The saide John, the Sonne, being then High Shreive of the County of Somerset.

IMPRIMIS, That no seruant bee absent from praier, at morning or euening, without a lawfull excuse, to be alledged within one day after, vppon paine to forfeit for euery tyme 2d.

II. Item, That none swear any othe, vppon paine for euery othe 1d.

III. Item, That no man leaue any doore open that he findeth shut, without theare bee cause, vppon paine for euery tyme 1d.

IV. Item, That none of the men be in bed, from our Lady-day to Michaelmas, after 6 of the clock in the morning; nor out of his bed after 10 of the clock at night; nor, from Michaelmas till our Lady-day, in bed after 7 in the morning, nor out after 9 at night, without reasonable cause, on paine of 2 d.

V. That no mans bed bee vnmade, nor fire or candle-box vncleane, after 8 of the clock in the morning, on paine of 1 d.

VI. Item, That no man make water within either of the courts, vppon paine of, euery tyme it shalbe proued, 1 d.

VII. Item, That no man teach any of the children any vn honest speeche, or bawdie word, or othe, on paine of 4d.

VIII. Item,

VIII. Item, That no man waite at the table without a trencher in his hand, except it be vppon some good cause, on paine of 1 d.

IX. Item, That no man appointed to waite at my table be absent that meale, without reasonable cause, on paine of 1 d.

X. Item, If any man breake a glasse, hee shall aunswer the price thereof out of his wages; and, if it bee not known who breake it, the buttler shall pay for it, on paine of 12 d.

XI. Item, The table must bee couered halfe an houer before 11 at dinner, and 6 at supper, or before, on paine of 2 d.

XII. Item, That meate bee readie at 11 or before at dinner, and 6 or before at supper, on paine of 6 d.

XIII. Item, That none be absent, without leaue or good cause, the whole day, or more part of it, on paine of 4 d.

XIV. Item, That no man strike his fellow, on paine of losse of seruice; nor reuile or threaten, or prouoke an other to strike, on paine of 12 d.

XV. Item, That no man come to the kitchen without reasonable cause, on paine of 1 d. and the cook likewyse to forfeit 1 d.

XVI. Item, That none toy with the maids, on paine of 4 d.

XVII. Item, That no man weare foule shirt on Sunday, nor broken hose or shooes, or dublett without buttons, on paine of 1 d.

XVIII. Item, That, when any strainger goeth hence, the chamber be drest vp againe within 4 howrs after, on paine of 1 d.

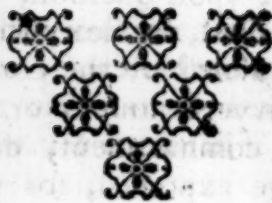
XIX. Item,

XIX. Item, That the hall bee made cleane every day, by eight in the winter, and seauen in the sommer, on paine of him that should do it to forfeit 1 d.

XX. That the cowrt-gate bee shutt each meale, and not opened during dinner and supper, without iustt cause, on paine the porter to forfeit for every time, 1 d.

XXI. Item, That all stayrs in the house, and other rooms that neede shall require, bee made cleane on Fryday after dinner, on paine of forfeiture of euery on whome it shall belong vnto, 3 d.

All which sommes shalbe duly payde each quarter-day out of their wages, and bestowed on the poore, or other godly vse.



PARLIAMENT MATTERS, in 1628,
and Times ensuing. In LETTERS to
JOHN HARYNGTON, Esq; from
WM. PRYNNE, Esq;.

Jouis, 3. Apr. 4^{to} Caroli Regis, 1628.

1. **R**esolved, vpon question, That no man
ought to be committed, or detayned in
prison, or otherwise restrayned, by the com-
mand of the Kinge or the privye Counsell, or
any other, valesse some cause of the committ-
ment, detayner, or restraynte, be expresse, for
which by lawe he ought to be committed, or
restrayned.

2. Resolved, vpon question, That the writt
of *Habeas corpus* may not be denyed, but ought
to be granted to euerye man that is committed,
or deteyned in prison, or otherwise restraynd,
though yt be by the commaund of the Kinge,
the privye Counsell, or any other, he prayinge
the same.

3. Resolved, vpon question, That, if a free-
man be committed, or deteyned in prison, or
otherwise restrayned by the commaund of the
Kinge, the privye Counsell, or any other, noe
cause of such committment, detayner, or re-
straynte beinge expresse, for which by lawe
he ought to be committed, deteyned, or re-
strayned; and the same to be returned vpon a
Habeas corpus, or granted for the same partye;
that then he ought to be deliuerd or bayled.

4. Resolved, vpon question, That the aun-
tient and vndoubted right of euerye freeman is,
that he hath a full and absolute propertye in his
goods

goods and estate, and that no taxe, tallage, loane, benevolence, or other like charge, ought to be demaunded or levyed by the Kinge, or any other his Ministers, without common assent by acte of Parliament.

April 4^o.

The proceedings of the plaintiffe beinge this daye related to the Kinge at the Counsell-Boord, by the Counsellors of the Commons House of Parliament, his Maiesty, vpon the reporte made, exprest the greate contentment that it gave him, not valuinge the money given, comparable to the heartes shewed in the way of givinge; for, althoughe his greate occasions of State did require more money then att this tyme was given, yet now he made accompte he would not lack, sinthens he had theyr loves. And att this daye he thought he had gayned more reputation in Christendome, then if he had gayned many battles. Saying further (according to his Speeche, the first daye of Parliamente) that they might easily make him in love with Parliaments. Nowe he professed he was soe; and that they should see the fruite of it by callinge them oftner togeather; and, to secure theyr feares and create future confidence, he assured them, that they should inioye as greate ymunityes and freedoms as ere they possessed in the reygne of any the best Kinges of this realme.

The

*The Duke of Buck. SPEECHE to his
Maiestie, at the Counsell-Table then.*

SIRE,

ME thinkes nowe I beholde yow a greate Kinge, for love is greater then Maiestie. Opinion, that yow had lost the love of yowr people, had almost lost yow in the opinion of the world. But this daye makes yow appeare as yow are, a glorious Kinge, loved at home, and now to be feared abroad. This fallinge out soe happilie, give me leave, I beseeche yow, to be a humble suiter to yowr Maiestie, first for my self, That I, whoe have had the honor to be yowr favorite, may now give vp my title to them, they to be yowr favorite, and I to be yowr servant. My second suite is, They havinge don soe well, yow will accompt of them all as one; a body of many subiects, but all of one harte. Opinion might have made them differ; but affection made them all to ioyne with like love in this greate guifte: for proportion, it beinge lesse then yowr occasions might aske, yet it is more then any subiects gave in soe short a tyme. Nor am I perswaded that it will rest there; for this is but an earnest of theyr affections, to lett yow see, and the world know, what subiects yow haue; that, when yowr honor and the good of the State is ingaged, yow cannot want. This is not a guifte of 5 subsidies alone, but the openinge of a myne of subsidies, which lyeth in theyr hartes. This good beginninge hath wrought alrede these effects:
They

They have taken your heart, drawne from you
 a declaracion, that you will love Parliaments.
 And, againe, this wilbe mett, I make no ques-
 tion, with muche respecte; that theyr de-
 maunds wilbe iust, dutifull, and moderate. For
 they that knowe this to give knowe well what is
 fitt to aske. Then cannott your Maiestie doe
 lesse then outgoe theyr demaunds, or else you
 doe lessen yourself or them; for your message
 be gatt trust, and your promises must then be-
 gett performance. This beinge don, then shall I
 with a gladd hearte hold this work as well end-
 ed as nowe begun. Then shall I hope, that
 Parliaments shalbe made hereafter soe frequent
 by the effects and good vse of them, as shall
 haue this farther benefitt, to deterr from your
 eares those proiectors and inducers of innova-
 tions, as disturbers both of Church and Com-
 monwealthe. [*And whoe dare not oppose
 but att these tymes, when they fynde that
 there is not an vnion of hearts and affections
 twixte your Maiestie and your people? And
 giue me leaue, Sir, to say, that this Parlia-
 ment hath given me more then your self, since
 they haue nowe, by givinge themselues vnto
 you, given me likewise to serve you both in
 one, without iealousye; soe that now I am
 more then in hope to regaine that which I es-
 teem dearer then my life, theyr loue.]

Nowe, Sir, to open my harte, and to ease my
 greif, please you to heare me one word more:
 I must confesse, I haue longe lived in payne;
 sleepe hath giuen me noe rest; favors and for-

* This is left out in some copies.

tune noe contente ; such haue been my secrett sorrowes to be thought the hand of separacion, and that devided the Kinge from his people, and them from him. But I hope it shall appeare they were some mistaken myndes, that would haue made me the evill spirit that walked betweene a good Maister and a loyall people for ill offices ; whereas, by yowr Maiesties favor, I shall approve my self a good spirit, breathing out the best of services to them all.

Therefore, this doh, I accompt more blessed to me then my birth, seinge my self able to serve them, to see yow browght in love with Parliaments, to see a Parliamente expresse such love to yow ; love them, I beseeche yow, and God so love me and myne, as I love to see this daye.

His Maiesties **A N S W E R** *to the*
Petition concerninge RELIGION, to curye
Particular.

I. **T**O the first Article his Maiestie answereth, That he will, according to his desire, give both life and mocion to the lawes which stand in force against Seminaries, Preists, and all that have taken orders by the awthoritye of the see of Rome. And, to that end, his Maiestie will give strickt orders to all his Ministers, for the discoverye and apprehending of them, and soe leave them, beinge apprehended, to the tryall of the lawe. And, in case that, after tryall, theyr shalbe cause to respitt the execucion of any of them, yet they shalbe

shalbe safely kept from exercising theyr factions, or spreddinge theyr superstitious and dangerous doctrynes. And, for the ^{and} abbetters, they shalbe left to the same.

2. To the second, his Maiestie granteth all that is desired in this Article; and to this end will give order to the Lord Treasurer, Highe Admirall, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, that in theyr seuerall places they be carefull to see this Article fully executed; giuing stricte charge to all such as haue place and awthoritye vnder them to vse all dilligence therein. And his Maiestie requireth them and all other Officers and Mynisters to haue a vigilant eye vpon such as dwell in daungerous places of advantage, or opportunity of receiuing or transporting any such as are here mentioned. And his Maiestie shall take it for good seruice, if any will giue knowledge of such as haue combyned, or shall conuiue and combyne, as is mentioned in this Article, that iustice may be stricktly done vpon them.

3. To the third, his Maiestie will take order to restraine all recourse of Recusants to the Hoste. And so, for the other points of this Article, his Maiestie is well pleased that the lawes be dulye executed, and that all unlawfull licens be adnulled and discharged.

4. To the 4th, his Maiestie is moste willinge to punishe for the tyme paste, and prevent for the future, any the deceipts and abuses mentioned in this Article; and will accompt it good seruice in any that will informe himself, his prvyue Counsell, Officers of his Revennewes, Judges,

Judges, Counsell, or others, of any thinge that maye defeate the farther progreſs of iniquitye. And his Maieſtie doth ſtricktly charge and commaundeeuerye of them to whom ſuch informacion ſhalbe brought, that they ſuffer not the ſame to dye, but doe their bettermoſt endeauours to effect a cleare diſcoverye, and bringe the offenders to puniſhment; and, to the intente there neuer bee tolleracion, his Maieſtie leaves the lawes to their courſe.

5. To the 5th, his Maieſtie is well pleaſed to prohibit and reſtraine theyr comminge and reſorte to the houſes of Embaſſadors, and will commaund vigilant watche to be ſett for theyr takinge and puniſhing, as is deſired.

6. To the 6th, his Maieſtie is perſwaded, that this Article is alreadye obſerved with good care; neuertheleſſe, for the avoydinge (as much as may be) all errors and eſcapes in this thinge, his Maieſtie will giue charge to the L. Keep. that the next terme he call vnto him all the Iudges, and take informacion of them, of the eſtats of theyr ſeuerall circuits. And, if any ſuch as are mencioned in this Article be in the Commiſſion of the Peace, that due performance may be made thereof. And will likewise giue order, that the L. Admirall, and ſuch others as to whome it ſhall apperteyne, to make diligent inquirye, and teſtifie to his Maieſtie, if any ſuch be in place of awthorytie and commaunde in his ſhipps or Service.

7. To the 7th, his Maieſtie doth fully grant it.

8. To the 8th, his Maieſtie doth well approve,

prove, as a matter of necessarye consideration; and that, the Parliamente now sittinge, he re-commendeth to both Houses the consideration of sittinge laws to that effect. And his Ma-iestie doth fullye declare, that the mildenesse, that hath been used towards those of the Popishe religion, hath been vpon hope that for-eyne Princes might thereby be induced to vse moderacion toward theyr subiectes of the Reformed religion. But, not fyndinge that good effecte which was expected, his Maieftie resolueth, that (vnlesse he shall see very speedily better fruits) to add a farther degree of seueritye to that which in the petition is desired.

Sir Francis Seymors SPEECHE in the House of Commons, March 22, 1627.

THIS is the greate Councell of the kingdome, and heer (if not heere alone) his Maieftie may see, as in a true glasse, the state of the kingdome. Wee are called hither by his writts to giue him faythfull counsell, such as may stand with his honor; but that wee must doe without flattery; and chosen wee are by the Commons to deliuer vp their iust greiuances; and this wee must doe without feare. Let us not then be like Cambises Iudges, who, beinge demaunded of him concerninge some thinges vnlawfull, sayd, Though there were noe written lawe, the Persian Kinges may doe what they list. This was base flattery, fitter for reproofe then imitacion. And, as flattery,

so feare taketh away the iudgment. For my owne parte, I shall shunne both these, and speake my conscience with as much duety to his Maiestie as any man, not neglectinge the publique. But howe can wee speake our affections while we reteyne oureselues? Or speake of giveinge, till we knowe whether we haue any thinge to giue, or not? For, if his Maiestie shalbe perswaded he may take what he list, What need we to giue? That this hath byn don appeareth by the billetinge of souldiers, a thinge noe way aduantageous to his service, & a burden to the Commonwealthe; the imprisonment of Gent. for the loane; whoe if they had don the contrary for feare, their faults had byn as great as theirs who were Proiectors and Countenauncers of their proceedings. Hath it not bene preached in the pulpetts (or rather prated) All wee have is the Kinges? But, when they forsake their owne callings, and turne ignorant Statesmen, wee see howe willinge they bee to change a good conscience for a Bishoppricke. It's too apparant the people suffers more nowe then euer. Will you knowe the true reason? We shall fynde those Princes haue byn in greatest wants and necessities, that haue exacted most from their subiects. The reason is plaine: A Prince is strongest by faythfull and wise Counsell. I would I could truly say such had byn employed abroad; I speake this to this end, to shewe the defect proceeded not from this House. I will confesse he is noe good subiect, that would not willingly and freely lay downe his life, when the end may be the seruice of

his Maiestie, and the good of the Commonwealth; but he is noe good subiect, but a slaue, that will haue his goods taken from him against his will & his liberties, against the lawes of the kingdome. In doeinge this, wee shall but tread the steps of our forefathers, who still preferred the publike interest before their owne right, nay, before their owne lives; it wilbe a wronge to us, to our posterity, and to our consciences, if we shall forgoe this; we shall doe well therefore to present it to his Maiestie. I offer this in the generall, thinkinge the particulars fitter for Committees; and what I nowe say, or shall say then, I submitt to better iudgments.

*Sir Thomas Wentworth his SPEECHE
the same Day.*

MAY this dayes resolucion be as happy as I conceiue your expoficion (which nowe moues me to arise) to be seasonable and necessary; for, whether we shall looke vpon the Kinge or his people, it did neuer more behouue this greate Phisicion, the Parliament, to effect a true consent amonge the parties, then nowe. This debate carryeth with it a double respect, toward the Souereigne, and toward the subiect, though both be innocent, both iniured, both to be cured. In the representacion of iniuries, I shall craue your attencion; in the cures, I shall beseech your equal cares & better iudgments. Surely (in the greatest humility I
speaks

(speake it) their illegall wayes are punishments and marks of indignacion: the rayfinge of ioanes, strengthnd by Commission, with vnheard of instruccions and oathes; the billetinge of souldiours by Leiutenants & Debuty Leiutenants haue byn, as if they would haue perswaded Christian Princes, nay, worlds, the rights of empire had byn to take away everye stronge hande; and they haue endeauourd, as farre as was possible for them to doe it. This hath not byn don by the Kinge (vnder the pleasinge shade of whose Crowne (I hope) we shall euer gather the fruits of iustice); but by Proiectors they haue extended the prerogatiue of the Kinge beyond the iust proporcion, which makes the sweete harmony of the whole; they haue rent from us the light of our dayes, inforced a company of guests, worse then the Ordinance of France; who haue vitiated our wives & daughters before our faces, brought the Crowne to greater want then euer, by anticipatinge the reyenewe; and, Can the shepheard be thus smitten, and the sheepe not scattered? They introduced a privye Councell, rauishinge att once the shires of all auncient governement, imprisoninge vs withouteyther bauke or bounde. They haue taken from us (What shall I say? indeed, what haue they left us?) all meanes of supplyinge the Kinge, and ingratiatinge our selves with him, takinge up the root of all provertye; which, if it be not seasonably sett into the ground by his Maiesties owne hands, we shall haue, in steed of beauty, baldnes.

To the makinge them whole I shall apply my
 VOL. II. F selfe,

selfe, and apply a remedy to all their diseases,
 by one and the same thinge hath Kinge and
 people byn hurt, and by the same must they be
 cured. To vindicate what? Newe things?
 Noe; our auncient, sober, vitall liberties, by
 reinforceinge the auncient lawes made by our
 auncestors; by settinge such a character vpon
 them, as noe licentious spiritt shall dare to enter
 vpon them: And shall wee thinke this is a way
 to breake a Parliament? Noe: Our desires are
 modest and iust. I speak true loyaltie, both for
 the intereste of Kinge and people; if wee enioy
 not this, it wilbe impossible to releiue him.
 Therefore lett us not feare, that they shall not
 be accepted by his goodnes. Therefore I shall
 descende to my mocion, consistinge of 4 parts;
 twoe of which haue relacion to the persons, &
 two to the proprietie of goods; for our persons
 & our freedome from them; first, from our im-
 prisonment; secondly, from imployment a-
 broad, contrary to the auncient customes, for
 our goods. First, That noe lawes may be
 made, but by Parliament; secondly, Noe bil-
 lettinge of souldiours: It is most necessary, that
 theis be resolued, that the subiect may be se-
 cured in both for the manner. In the second
 place, it wilbe fitt to determine it by a Grand
 Committee.

Letter to Lorde Thomas Howarde, from
Sir I. H. 1603.

My LORDE,

TOUCHYNGE our matters here, and what hath fallen oute sithence you departede, maye perchance not be unpleasente to you to heare. Manie have beene the mad caps rejoicinge at oure new Kynges cominge, and who in good trothe darede not haue set forthe their good affection to him a monthe or two agoe; but, alas! what availeth truthe, when profite is in queste? Yow were true and leige bondfman to her late Highnesse, and selte her sweete bounties in full force and good favour. Nor dide I my poor self unexperience her love and kyndnes on manie occasions; but I cannot forbear remembringe my dread at her frownes in the Iryshe affaire, when I followede my General, (And what shoude a Captaine do better?) to Englande a little before his tyme: If Essex had met his *appoynted time*, as Davide saithe, to die, it had fared better, than to meet his follie and his fate too. But enoughe of olde tales; a new Kynge will have new soldiers, and God knowethe what men they will be. One saith he will serve him by daie, another by nighte; the women who love to talke as they lyke are for servynge him bothe daye and nyghte. It pleaseth me to thynke I am not under their commande, whoe offerr so bountyfoullie what perchance they woulde be gladde to receive at others handes.—But I am a

cripple, and not made for sportes in newe Cowrtes. Sir Robert Cary was Prime in his Scottyshe intelligence of the Queenes deathe: Some will saye that bad tydings travel faste; but I maye call Sir Roberts no ill burden to Edenborrow.—St. Paul hathe saide, that *the race is not alwaie giuene to the swyfte*. I dowte Sir Robert will give the Sainte the lie, for he is like to get bothe *race* and *prize*, and, as fame goethe, creepethe not a little into fauoure. I am now settinge forth for the countrie, where I will read Petrarch, Ariosto, Horace, and suche wise ones. I will make verses on the maidens, and give my wine to the maisters; but it shall be suche as I do love, and do love me. I do muche delighte to meete my goode freindes, and discourse of getting rid of our foes. Each nighte do I spende, or muche better parte thereof, in counceil with the aunciente examples of lerninge; I con over their histories, their poetrie, their instructions, and thence glean my own proper conducte in matters bothe of merrimente or discretion; otherwyse, my goode Lorde, I neer had overcome the rugged pathes of Ariosto, nor wonne the high palme of glorie, which you broughte unto me, I venture to saie it, namely, our late Queenes approbation, esteeme, and rewarde. Howe my poetrie maye be relished in tyme to come, I will not hazarde to saie. Thus muche I have livede to see, and in good soothe feel too; that honeste prose will never better a mans purse at Courte; and, had not my fortune been in *Terra firma*, I might, even for my verses, have daunced bare foot with
Clio

Clio and her schoolfellowes untill I did sweat,
and then have gotten nothinge to slake my
thirste, but a pitcher of Helicons well.—E'en
let the beardles God Apollo dip his own chin
in such drinke, a hair of my face shall have bet-
ter entertainmente. I have made some friendes
to further my suite of favour withe the Kynge,
and hope you will not be slacke in forwardeing
my being noticede in proper season; but, my
goode Lorde, I will walke faire, tho a cripple;
I will copie no mans steps so close as to treade
on his heel; if I go at all, it shall be verily up-
rightely, and shall better my selfe in thus saie-
ing, *Sequar—sed passibus æquis.*—Nowe, my
Lorde, farewell, and truste his worde who ven-
tureth to honour himselfe in the name of

Your Friende,

JOHN HARYNGTON.

When you can fairely get occasion, I entreate
a worde touchyng your doinges at Cowrte;
I will pointe oute to you a special convey-
ance, for in these tymes discretion must
stande at our doores, and even at our lippes
too; goode caution never comethe better,
than when a man is climbinge.—It is a pity-
full thinge to sett a wronge foote, and, in-
steade of raisinge ones heade, to falle to
the grounde and shewe ones baser partes.

Sir JOHN HARYNGTON to Sir AMIAS
PAWLET, 1604.

My Lowynge Cosene,

IT behoveth me now to recite my Journal, respectynge my gracious commande of my Sovereigne Prince, to come to his closet; which matter as you so well and urgentlie desyer to heare of, I shall, in suchwyse as suitethe myne beste abilitie, relate unto you, and is as followethe: When I came to the presence chamber, and had gotten goode place to see the Lordlie attendants, and bowed my knee to the Prince; I was orderede by a specyal messenger, and that in secrete sorte, to waite a whyle in an outwarde chamber, whence, in near an houre waitinge, the same knave ledde me up a passage, and so to a smale roome where was good order of paper, inke, and pens, put on a boarde for the Princes use. Soon upon this, the Prince his Highnesse did enter, and in muche goode humour askede if I was cozen to Lorde Haryngton of Exton? I humblie repliede, His Majestie did me some honour in enquiringe my kin to one whome he had so late honourede and made a Barone; and, moreover, did adde, wee were bothe branches of the same tree. Then he enquiryede muche of lernynge, and showede me his owne in suche sorte, as made me remember my Examiners at Cambridge aforetyme. He soughte muche to knowe my advances in philosophye, and utterede suche profounde

profounde sentences oute of Aristotle, and suche
 lyke wryters, which I had never reade, and
 which some are bolde enoughe to saye others
 do not understand; but this I must passe by.
 The Prince did nowe presse my readinge to him
 parte of a canto in Ariosto, praysede my utter-
 ance, and saide he had been informede of man-
 nie, as to my lernynge, in the tyme of the
 Queene. He asked me, What I thoughte pure
 witte was made of; and whom it did beste be-
 come? Whether a Kynge shoulde not be the
 beste clerke in his owne countrie; and, if this
 lande didde not entertayne good opinion of his
 lernynge and good wisdom? His Majestie did
 muche presse for my opinion touchinge the
 power of Satane in matter of witchcraft; and
 askede me, with muche gravitie, If I did trulie
 understande, why the Devil did worke more
 with anciente women than others? I did not
 refraine from a scurvey jest, and even saide
 (notwithstandinge to whome it was saide) that
 we were taughte hereof in Scripture, where it
 is tolde, that the Devil *walketh in dry places*.
 His Majestie, moreover, was pleasede to saie
 much, and favouredlye, of my good report for
 merthe and good conceite: To which I did
 covertlie answer, as not willinge a subiecte
 shoulde be wiser than his Prince, nor even ap-
 peare so. More serious discourse did next en-
 sue, wherein I wantede roome to continue, and
 sometime roome to escape; for the Queene his
 mother was not forgotten, nor Davison nei-
 ther. His Highnesse tolde me her deathe was

visible in Scotlande before it did really happen, being, as he said, spoken of in secrete by those whose power of sighte presentede to them a bloodie heade dancinge in the aire. He then did remarke muche on this giste, and saide he had soughte out of certaine bookes a sure waie to attaine knowledge of future chances. Hereat he namede many bookes, which I did not knowe, nor by whom written; but advisede me not to consult some authors which woulde leade me to evile consultations; I tolde his Majestie, the power of Satan had, I muche fearede, damagede my bodilie frame; but I had not farther will to cowrte his friendship for my soules hurte. We next discourfede somewhat on Religion, when at length he saide: Now, Sir, you have seen my wisdome in some sorte, and I have pried into yours. I praye you, do me justice in your reporte, and, in good season, I will not fail to add to your understandinge, in suche pointes as I maye find you lacke amende-
 mente. I made courtesie hereat, and withdrewe downe the passage, and out at the gate amidst the manie uarlets and Lordlie servantes who stoode arounde. Thus you have the historie of your neighboures highe chaunce and entertain-
 mente at Cowrte; more of whiche matter, when I come home to my owne dwellynge, and talk these affaires in a corner. I muste presse to silence hereon, as otherwyse all is undone. I did forget to tell, that his Majestie muche askede concerninge my opinion of the newe weede Tobacco, and said it woud, by its
 use,

use, infuse ill qualities on the braine, and that
no lernede man ought to taste it, and wished
it forbidden. I will nowe forbear further ex-
ercise of your tyme, as Sir ROBERTES man
waitethe for my Letter to beare to you, from

Your olde Neighbour

Friend, and Cosine,

I. HARYNGTON.



*Copy of a LETTER from Sir JOHN
HARINGTON to PRINCE HENRY,
Son to KING JAMES I, concerninge
his Dogge.*

MAY it please your Highnesse to accepte in as goode sorte what I nowe offer, as it hath done aforetyme; and I may saie *I pede fausto*; but, havinge goode reason to thinke your Highnesse had good will and likinge to reade what others have tolde of my rare Dogge, I will even give a brief historie of his good deedes and straunge feats; and herein will I not plaie the curr myselfe, but in goode soothe relate what is no more nor lesse than bare verity. Although I mean not to disparage the deedes of Alexanders horse, I will match my Dogge against him for good carriage, for, if he did not bear a great *Prince* on his back, I am bolde to saie he did often bear the sweet wordes of a greater Princessse on his necke. I did once relate to your Highnesse after what sorte his tacklinge was wherewith he did sojourn from my house at the Bathe to Greenwich Palace, and deliver up to the Cowrte there such matters as were entrusted to his care. This he hathe often done, and came safe to the Bathe, or my howse here at Kelstone, with goodlie returnes from such Nobilitie as were pleased to emploie him; nor was it ever tolde our Ladie Queene, that this Messenger did ever blab ought concerninge his highe truste, as others have done in more special matters. Neither must it be forgotten

as how he once was sente with two charges of sack wine from the Bathe to my howse, by my man Combe; and on his way the cordage did slackene, but my trustie bearer did now bear himselfe so wisely as to covertly hide one flasket in the rushes, and take the other in his teethe to the howse, after whiche he wente forth, and returnede with the other parte of his burden to dinner: hereat yr Highnesse may perchance maruele and doubt, but we have livinge testimonie of those who wroughte in the fieldes and espiede his worke, and now live to tell they did muche longe to plaie the Dogge and give stowage to the wine themselves; but they did refrain, and watchede the passinge of this whole businesse. I neede not saie how muche I did once grieve at missinge this Dogge, for, on my journiee towards Londone, some idle pastimers did diverte themselves withe huntinge mallards in a ponde, and conueyd him to the Spanish Ambassadors, where in a happie houre after six weekes I did heare of him; but suche was the cowrte he did pay to the Don, that he was no lesse in good likinge there then at home. Nor did the householde listen to my claim, or challenge, till I rested my suite on the Dogges own proofes, and made him performe such feats before the Nobles assembled, as put it past doubt that I was his Master. I did send him to the hall in the time of dinner, and made him bringe thence a pheasant out the dish which created much mirth; but much more when he returnede at my commandment to the table again, and put it again in the same cover.

Herewith the companie was well content to allowe me my claim, and we bothe were well content to accepte it, and came homewardes. I could dwell more on this matter, but *jubes renovare dolorem*; I will now saie in what manner he died: As we traveld towardes the Bathe, he leapede on my horses necke, and was more earnestte in fawninge and courtinge my notice, than what I had observed for time backe; and, after my chidinge his, disturbinge my passinge forwardes, he gave me some glances of such affection as movede me to cajole him; but, alas, he crept suddenly into a thorny brake, and died in a short time. Thus I have strove to rehearse such of his deedes as maie suggest much more to yr Highnesse thought of this Dogge. But, havinge saide so much of him in prose, I will say somewhat too in verse, as you may finde hereafter at the close of this historie. Now let Ulysses praise his Dogge Argus, or Tobite be led by that Dogge whose name doth not appear; yet could I say such things of my BUNGEY, for so was he styled, as might shame them both, either for good faith, clear wit, or wonderful deedes; to say no more than I have said of his bearing letters to London and Greenwich, more than an hundred miles. As I doubt not but your Highnesse would love my Dogge, if not my selfe, I have been thus tedious in his storie; and againe saie that, of all the Dogges near your father's Courte, not one hathe more love, more diligence to please, or less pay for pleasinge, than him I write of; for verily a bone will contente my servante, when some expecte

pecte greater matters, or will knavishly find
oute a bone of contention.

I now reſte your Highneſſe friend in all ſer-
vice that maye ſuite him,

JOHN HARRINGTON.

P. S. The Verſes above ſpoken of are in my
book of Epigrams in praife of my Dogge BUN-
GEY to Momus. And I have an excellente
picture curiouſly limned to remaine in my po-
ſterity.

Kelſtone, June 14, 1608.



The

The LIFE of JOHN, Lord HARINGTON,
Baron of Exton, 1612.

— THE learned Dr. Birch, in the LIFE of Prince HENRY, having made honourable mention of the young Lord Harington, cotemporary and intimate friend of that excellent Prince, the Reader may not be displeased to peruse the following rough sketch of his Life, written some time after his death. As the Editor, above-mentioned, has done justice to the learned part of his character, by giving us several Letters of his writing to the PRINCE, we shall refer our Readers to that book, for those specimens of his Latinity; and most sincerely wish the present times afforded as bright examples, in the Great world, of early piety, useful knowledge, and unaffected manners. Whether these rare qualifications were owing to parental influence and attention, or superior mental endowments, we shall not determine; but are sorry to find, amidst the extolled refinements of these times, and the boasted improvements in education, so few equals in either sex to Prince HENRY, Lady Jane Gray, and Lord Harington; not to mention many other extraordinary characters, both before and in the same age.

JOHN Lord Harington was the eldest son of the Lord and Lady Harington, to whose care and tuition King JAMES committed the education of his daughter ELIZABETH, who was married afterwards to FREDERICK, Prince Elector

Electoꝛ Palatine. They were persons eminent for prudence and piety, who carefully educated this their son, both in religion and learning; and this honourable Lord, thankful for the care and honour received from them, returned honour to them again with advantage, being no less honourable, than they were to him.

He was of an excellent wit, firm memory, sweet nature, and prompt to learning; so that, in a short time, he was able to read Greek authors, and to make use of them in their own language: He spake Latin well, wrote it in a pure and grave style, and was able to confer with any stranger readily and laudably in the French and Italian tongues. Understood the authors which he read in Spanish; and, for arts, he was well read in logic, philosophy, and the mathematics. He made a good progress in the theoretic part of the art military and navigation: So that he wanted nothing but practice to make him perfect in both. And, for his understanding in heavenly matters, and the mysteries of Salvation, it was admirable, so that there was scarce any question could be propounded to him, about those matters, unto which he was not able to give an understanding and quick answer.

Being well grounded in religion and learning at home, his Noble father sent him to travel abroad in France and Italy, that by experience he might ripen that knowledge which he had before gained; and, for a guide and tutor for him in his travels, he chose and sent over one Master Tovey, a grave and learned religious
man,

man, and formerly the head Master of the free-school at Coventry. But how dangerous a thing it is for religious Gentlemen to travel into these Popish countries may appear by the example of this Nobleman and his Tutor, whose sound religion, and heavenly zeal for the truth, being taken notice of by the Jesuits, they took their opportunity to administer a slow-working poison to them, that, seeing they had no hopes of corrupting their minds, they might destroy their bodies, and bring them to their graves.

Of this poison Mr. Tovey, being aged, and so less able to encounter with the strength of it, died presently after his return to England; but the Lord Harington, being of a strong and able body, and in the prime of his age, bore it better, and conflicted with it longer; yet the violence of it appeared in his face presently after his return, and, not long after, hastened his death.

He was eminent for sobriety and chastity; his lips were never heard to utter any unchaste or unseemly speech; which was the more admirable, considering that he was in the heat of youth, living in the Court, and had been a traveller into those countries which are schools of uncleanness, whence few return such as they went out; but, if chaste, are made unchaste, or, if unchaste before, are made seven-fold worse than they were: But this our Nobleman was as fish fresh in salt waters, and kept himself undefiled, as Lot in the midst of Sodom: And, indeed, he took the right way to preserve his chastity, by avoiding the incentives and provocations.

cations to lust. He spent not his time in courting of Ladies, and amorously contemplating the beauty of women, which are bellows of lust and baits of uncleanness: But he preferred his books before their beauty; and, for his society, chose men of parts and learning for arts and arms. Besides, he was very temperate in his diet, shunning tasting; and was frequent in fasting; and hated idleness and much sleep, which are the two nurses of uncleanness; and in the night, when he lay awake, to prevent temptation, he exercised his thoughts with heavenly meditations.

His justice, so far as he had occasion to shew it, was very exemplary: He dealt honourably and honestly with every body he had to deal with; and, whereas his father had contracted great debts by his prince-like house-keeping, and other public and private occasions, he was very solicitous for the discharge of the same, giving power to his executrix to sell part or all his land, if need were, therewith speedily to discharge the creditors; and being asked, when the writing was drawn up, Whether he assented to it? he answered, Yea, with all my heart, for my honour and my honesty are my nearest heirs.

But the splendor of his religion outshined all his moral and natural accomplishments: This was the temple that sanctified the gold, and the altar that sanctified the offering: This was that which ennobled his sobriety, justice, and other virtues. And this appeared both by his private and public exercises of piety, which were

were rare in a young man, more rare in a young Nobleman, and hardly found in such a measure in any man, of what age or condition soever. He usually rose every morning about four or five o'clock, seldom sleeping above five or six hours at a time. When he first waked, his constant care was to set his heart in order, and fit it for holiness all the day after, offering the first-fruits of the day, and of his thoughts, unto God. Being up, he read a chapter out of the holy Scriptures; then, with his servants in his chamber, he went to prayer; then did he spend about an hour in reading some holy treatise to enliven his affections and increase his knowledge. He read over Calvin's Institutions, and Rogers's treatise, which were his two last books. Before dinner and supper, he had a psalm, chapter, and prayer in his family, and prayer after supper; and, besides those public duties, he prayed privately every morning in his closet, after which he betook himself to some serious study, for three or four hours together, except he was interrupted by some special business. The residue of the morning he spent in converse with his friends, riding the great horse, or some such other honest and noble recreation, till dinner-time. Thus avoided he idleness, and prevented temptations, which commonly ensue thereon. Presently after dinner, he retired into his study, to meditate on sermons he had lately heard; or, if he was disappointed of that opportunity, he neglected not to take the first that was offered to him; yea, many times, in his travels by land, or by water, he thus busied himself.

himself. The rest of the afternoon he spent in business, study of histories, the art of war, mathematics, and navigation; wherein he attained to a great measure of perfection. After supper, he prayed with his servants; then withdrew himself into his study, where he kept a diary or day-book, wherein he recorded what he had done that day; how he had offended, or what good he had done; what temptations he met with, and how he had resisted them; and, surveying his failings, he humbled himself to God for them; and, for such failings as were fit to be known only to God and his own soul, he wrote them down in a private character, which none could read but himself, and then betook himself to his rest; and, to prevent evil thoughts before sleep, one that waited on him in his chamber read a chapter or two to him out of the holy Scripture, and this practice he continued for four years together before his death. And, that his public care as well as private to walk with his God might the better appear, the use of his time in the means of God's worship bore sufficient testimony; being a most religious observer of the Lord's-day, both in public and private duties, yet preferring the public before the private, so that, though he had an household chaplain, yet he ever frequented the public assemblies twice a day, yea whilst he was a Courtier; and, if his occasions cast him into a place where the Word was not preached, he would ride to some other place, many miles, rather than want it. Immediately after sermon, he withdrew himself from company, for about
half

half an hour, to meditate and apply what he had heard to his soul. After the evening sermon, two of his servants having written, he caused them to repeat both the sermons in his family before supper; and such was his memory, that he could usually repeat more than they had written. Then wrote he them down in his book, and prayed himself with his family, wherein he had an excellent gift. And, by way of preparation to the Sabbath, every Saturday-night, he used to call himself to a strict account how he had spent the whole week; and accordingly he humbled himself to God for his failings, and returned praise for mercies received from him. On the Sabbath-morning, rising betimes, he used, as he was making himself ready, to repeat to his servants those sermons he had heard the Lord's-day before. He used, monthly, to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's-supper; and, to fit himself to feast at the Lord's-table, he kept a private fast the day before, and then he looked over his books for his carriage that month, and spent the whole day in prayer and meditation and self-examination; observing how it was with him since his last receiving; what progress he had made in piety; how he had thrived in grace, and what more strength he had gotten over his corruptions. Thus he spent the whole day, not coming out of his study till about supper-time. Also, the morning before he received, he read 1 Corinth. XI. wherein is contained the Institution of the Lord's-supper; and, to his servants that were to communicate with him, he read

read a little Treatise to them, wherein the right
 manner of communicating was contained:
 And, besides these monthly fasts, he kept many
 other days of afflicting his soul, upon sundry
 occasions. He was wonderous attentive in
 hearing the Word of God preached or read;
 and carried himself wonderous and exceedingly
 reverent therein, knowing that he was in the
 presence of God; shewing thereby, that, when
 he came to hear, not the words of man, but
 God, he willingly laid down his honour at
 Christ's feet: And, to avoid ostentation, or the
 appearance of it, in his private duties, he never
 admitted any one, either to his prayers, or his
 repetition of his sermon, in and with his family,
 but only one friend, that was most intimate with
 him. And thus was this holy servant of Christ
blameless and pure, and this child of God without
rebuke, in a naughty and crooked generation, amongst
whom he shined as a light in the world, holding forth
the words of life, that he might rejoice in the day of
Christ's coming, that he had not run in vain, nor
laboured without fruit. He, further manifested
 the sincerity of his religion, by his love to all
 that were truly godly, especially to faithful and
 painful ministers; as also, by his mercy and cha-
 rity to the needy saints and poor members of
 Jesus Christ. After his return from his tra-
 vels, by way of thankfulness to God, he gave
 yearly, by the hand of a private friend, twenty
 pounds to the poor. And, the second Sabbath
 after his landing in England (having spent the
 day before with his Tutor, Mr. Tovey, in
 in prayer, fasting, and thanksgiving) he heard
 the

the Word, received the Sacrament, and gave to the poor of that parish five pounds; and, beside, he gave forty pounds, to be bestowed upon poor ministers, and other Christians, for the relief of their necessities. Yea, such were his bowels of tender mercy, that he gave a tenth part of his yearly allowance, which was a thousand pounds, to pious and charitable uses; besides much that he gave occasionally, as he travelled, or walked abroad, &c. Also, all his other graces were beautified by the ornament of admirable humility; which is rarely found in persons so honourable, and honoured both of God and man. From the first day of his last sickness, he strongly apprehended the approach of his death, and therefore accordingly prepared himself for it. Besides his private meditations, he called often others to pray for him, and often prayed himself; made confession of his sins, and often confessed his faith, and an undoubted hope of salvation by Christ Jesus; professing with so much chearfulness, that he feared not death, in what shape soever it came. He uttered many heavenly speeches, desiring to be dissolved, and to be at home with God his Father; professing, not above two hours before his death, that he still felt the assured comforts and joys of his salvation by Christ; and, when death itself approached, he breathed forth these longing expressions: O Thou my joy! O my God! when shall I be with thee! and, in the midst of such desires, sweetly and quietly resigned up his spirit unto God.

Anno Domini 1613, aged 22 years.

A GRANT

A
G R A N T
FROM

King EDWARD IV,

T O

Sir JAMES HARYNGTON,

For Taking King HENRY the SIXTH
PRISONER. Dated 1465.

The ORDER to put him in Possession of the
LANDS in this GRANT, *Vide Acta Regia, Page*
291.

* These LANDS, with others, were forfeited again to Henry
the VIIth, at the battle of Bosworth; and Sir James Haryngton
and his brother attainted, for serving Richard the IIIrd and Ed-
ward the IVth, and commanding the party which seized Henry
the VIth, and conducted him to the Tower.

*A G R A N T, made unto Sir JAMES
HARYNGTON, Knight, for his Services
and Taking Prisoner King Henry the
Sixth, wilholding him as such in Diligence
and Valor, by King Edward the Fourth
1465. Super Caption. Henrici Sexti
nuper Regis.*

R E X omnibus ad quos venerint præsentem
Sciatis, quod Nos nedum bonū et gra-
tuitū servitiū Nobis per dilectū et fidelē Militem
nostr. *Jacobum Haryngton*, multiplicetur impensū
verū etiā magnā et laboriosā diligentia suā circa
captionē et retinentiā magni proditoris, re-
bellis, et inimici nostri *Henrici*, nuper vocati
Regis *Henrici Sexti*, per ipsum præfatū *Jacobum*
factū merito contemplemus. De nostra gratia
speciali dedimus et concessimus eidem *Jacobo*
Haryngton, Militi, castrū, maneriū, et domi-
niū de *Thurland*, ac omnia messuag. terr. et te-
nement. redditus et servitia, cum suis pertinen-
tiis in villa de *Tunstill*, ac unum parcum, vo-
catum *Fayret-Whayte Parkē*, ac etiā omn. terr.
et tenement. reddit. et servitia, cum suis perti-
nentiis in villis sive hamelettis de *Warton*, *O-*
verborrowe, *Netherhorrowe*, *Old Wenynghon*, *Gal-*
et Ergham, infra comit. nostr. *Lanc.* necnon
omn. terr. et tenement. reddit. et servitia, cum
suis pertinentiis in vill. sive hamelett. de *Bent-*
ham

Hen Burton, in *Lonesdale* infra comit. nostr.
Ebor. Ac etiam omn. terr. et tenement. reddit.
 et servitia, cum suis pertinentibus in villa de
Holme, in *Kendal*, infra comit. nostr. *Westmor-*
landiæ: Quæ nuper fuerunt *Richardi Tunstall*,
 Militis nostri rebellis, aut alicujus alterius, vel
 aliquorum aliorum ad ejus usum; et quæ ad
 manus nostras ratione cujusdam actus in Parlia-
 mento nostro apud *Westm.* quarto die Novemb.
 ann. regn. nostr. prim. tento editi devenerunt,
 seu devenire debuerunt. Ita tamen, quod præ-
 dict. castrū, maner. et domin. parc. messuag.
 terr. tenem. reddit. servit. cum suis pertinent.
 vero valore annuo ultra omnes reprisas summam
 cent. librar. minime excedant, prout per sepa-
 rales inquisition. superinde capt. et in Cancel-
 lariam nostr. retornat. plene liquet de Recordo
 habend. et tenend. eidem *Jacobo Haryngton*,
 Militi, et hæredibus suis imperpetuum de Nobis
 et hæred. nostr. per fidelitatem tantum pro om-
 nibus servitiis et demandis, necnon reddendo
 illis personis redditus ab antiquo inde debitos et
 consuetos. - - - - -
 Concessimus eidem *Jacobo Haryngton*, Militi,
 omnia exitus et proficua de iisdem castro, ma-
 terio, dominio, terr. tenement. parco, et cæ-
 teris præmiss. a prædicto quarto die Novemb.
 usque in diem confectionis præsentium proveni-
 entia. In cujus rei testimonium has literas fieri
 fecimus patentes. Teste Rege apud *Westmonast.*
 vicesimo nono die Julii, per ipsum Regem, et
 e data prædicta autoritate Parliamenti. - - -

Ex Parliament. Schedulis.

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To

To Sir John Harington from Lord Tho.
Howard, 1611,

My Good and Trusty Knight,

IF you have good will and good health to perform what I shall commend, you may set forward for Courte, whenever it suiteth your own conveniency; the King hath often enquired after you, and woud readily see and converse again with the 'merry Blade,' as he hath oft called you, since you was here. I will now premise certaine thinges to be observed by you, toward well gaining our Princes good affection; He doth wondrously covet learned discourse, of which you can furnish out ample means; he doth admire good fashion in cloaths, I pray you give good heed hereunto; strange devices oft come into mans conceit; some one regardeth the endowments of the inward sort, wit, valour, or virtue; another hath, perchance, special affection towards outward thinges, cloaths, deportment, and good countenance; I woud wish you to be well trimmed, get a new jerkin well borderd, and not too short; the King saith he liketh a flowing garment; besure it be not all of one sort, but diversly coloured, the collar falling somewhat down, and your ruff well stiffend and bushy. We have lately had many gallants who failed in their suits, for want of due observance of these matters. The King is nicely heedfull of such points, and dwelleth on good looks and handsome accoutrements. Eighteen servants were lately discharged, and

many more will be discarded, who are not to his liking in these matters. I wish you to follow my directions, as I wish you to gain all you desire. Robert Carr is now most likely to win the Princes affection, and dothe it wonderously in a little time. The Prince leaneth on his arm, pinches his cheek, smoothes his ruffled garment, and, when he looketh at Carr, directeth discourse to divers others. This young man dothe much study all art and device; he hath changed his taylors and tiremen many times, and all to please the Prince, who laugheth at the long grown fashion of our young Courtiers, and wisheth for change every day. You must see Carr before you go to the King, as he was with him a boy in Scotland, and knoweth his taste and what pleaseth. In your discourse you must not dwell too long on any one subject, and touch but lightly on religion. Do not of yourself say, This is good or bad; but, If it were your Majesties good opinion, I myself should think so and so; ask no more questions than what may serve to know the Princes thought. In private discourse, the King seldom speaketh of any mans temper, discretion, or good virtues; so meddle not at all, but find out a clue to guide you to the heart and most delightful subject of his mind. I will advise one thing: The Roan jennet, whereon the King rideth every day, must not be forgotten to be praised; the good furniture, and, above all, what lost a great man much notice the other day.—A Noble did come in suit of a place, and saw the King mounting the Roan; deliverd his

G 2

petition,

petition, which was heeded and read, but no answer was given; the Noble departed, and came to Courte the nexte day, and got no answer again. The Lord Treasurer was then pressed to move the Kings pleasure touching the petition; when the King was asked for answer thereto, he said, in some wrath, ' Shall a King give heed to a dirty paper, when a beggar noteth not his gilt stirrops?' Now it fell out, that the King had new furniture when the Noble saw him in the Courte-yard, but was overcharged with confusion, and passed by admiring the dressing of the horse. Thus, good Knight, our Noble failed in his suit. I could relate and offer some other remarks on these matters, but silence and discretion should be linked together, like dog and bitch, for of them is gendred security; I am certain it proveth so at this place. You have lived to see the trim of old times, and what passed in the Queens days: These thinges are no more the same; your Queen did talk of her subjects love and good affections, and in good truth she aimed well; our King talketh of his subjects fear and subjection, and herein I think he dothe well too, as long as it holdeth good; Carr hath all favours, as I tolde you before; the King teacheth him Latin every morning, and I think some one should teach him English too, for, as he is a Scottish lad, he hath much need of better language. The King doth much covet his presence, the Ladies too are not behind hand in their admiration; for I tell you, good Knight, this fellow is straight-limbed, well-favoured, strong-shoulderd, and smooth-faced, with some
 fort

fort of cunning and show of modesty ; tho, God wot, he well knoweth when to shew his impudence. You are not young, you are not handsome, you are not finely suited ; and yet Will you come to Courte, and think to be well favoured ? Why, I say again, good Knight, that your learning may somewhat prove worthy hereunto ; your Latin and your Greek, your Italian, your Spanish tongues, your wit and discretion, may be well looked unto for a while, as strangers at such a place ; but these are not the thinges men live by now a days : Will you say the moon shineth all the summer ? That the starrs are bright jewels fit for Carrs ears ? That the Roan jennet surpasseth Bucephalus, and is worthy to be bestriden by Alexander ? That his eyes are fire, his tail is Berenices locks, and a few more such fancies worthy your noticing ? Your Lady is virtuous and somewhat of a good hufwife ; has lived in a Courte in her time, and I believe you may venture her forthe again ; but I know those woud not quietly reſte, were Carr to leer on their wives, as some do perceive, yea, and like it well too they shoud be so noticed. If any mischance be to be wished, tis breaking a leg in the Kings presence, for this fellow owes all his favour to that bout ; I think he hath better reason to speak well of his own horse, than the Kings Roan jennet. We are almost worn out in our endeavors to keep pace with this fellow in his duty and labour to gain favour, but all is in vain ; where it endeth I cannot guess, but honours are talked of speedily for him. I truste this by my own son, that

no danger may happen from our freedoms. If
 you come here, God speed your ploughing at
 the Courte. I know you do it rarely at home:
 So adieu, my good Knyght, and I will always
 write me your truly loving old freinde,

T. HOWARD.



*The Earl of ESSEX to John Haryngton,
Esq; touchinge his beinge appointed Lord
Leiuente in Irelande, 1599.*

HER Majesties Grace appointethe me to go to Irelande, and hath speciallie commended yourselfe to my assistance and notyfe; hence you are to lerne myne affections for hir commandes; you muste get forwarde and well accouterde in all haste for thys undertakynge. I shall provyde you to a commande of horsemen in consorte and commande of the Earl of Southamptone; youre sarvys shall not be ill reportede or unrewardede for the love the Queene beareth the you. I will confer soche honor and advantages as are in my breste and powere, forasmuche as hir Majestie makethe me to commaunde peace or warre, to truce, parley, or soche matter as seemethe beste for our enterpryse and goode of hir realme: Be nowe assurede of my love for hir sake who byds it, and accounte youre happynesse in hir favor, and hys whom shee favorethe, even myselfe, who wyshethe youre advauncement,

ESSEX.

I have beaten Knollys and Montjoye in the Councle, and by G—d I will beate Tyr-Owen in the feilde; for nothyng worthye hir Majesties honor hathe yet beene achievede.

N. B. Essex knyghted this Gentleman in the feilde, with many others; which provoked not a little the Queen at his return home. *Vid. History, Camden, &c.*

*Sir John Haryngton to Dr. John Still, the
Bishoppe of Bathe and Welles, 1603.*

My Worthie LORDE,

I HAVE livede to see that damnable rebel Tir-
Owen broughte to Englande, curteouslie fa-
vourede, honourede, and well likede : Oh my
Lorde, What is there which dothe not prove the
inconstancie of worldlie matters ? How did I la-
bour after that knaves destruction ! I was cal-
lede from my home by hir Majesties commaund,
adventured perils by sea and lande, endurede
toil, was near starvinge, eat horsefleshe at Mun-
ster ; and all to quell that man, who nowe
smilethe in peace at those that did hazarde their
lives to destroy him. Essex tooke me to Ire-
lande, I had scante tyme to putte on my bootes,
I followede withe good wyll, and did returne
wyth the Lorde Leiutenante to meet ill wyll ;
I dide beare the frownes of hir that sente me ;
and, were it not for hir goode lykinge, rather
than my good deservynges, I had been sore dis-
countenancede indeede. I obeyede in goinge
wythe the Earle to Irelande, and I obeyede in
comynge wythe him to Englande ? But what
did I encounter thereon ? Not his wrathe, but
my gracious Soveraigns ill humour. What did
I advantage ? Why, trulie, a knyghthood ;
whych had been better bestowede by hir that
sente me, and better sparede by him that gave
it. I shall never put oute of remembraunce hir
Majesties displeasure ; I enterd her chamber, but
she frowne and saiede, “ What, did the foole
brynge

brynge you too? Go backe to your businesse."

In soothe, these wordes did sore hurte hym who never hearde soche before; but Heaven gave me more comforte in a daie or twoe after; hir Majestie did please to aske me concernynge our Northerne journeyes, and I did so well quite me of the accounte, that she favourede me wythe such discourse that the Earle hymself had been well glad of. And nowe dothe Tyr-Owen dare us old Commanders wyth hys presence and protection. I doubt not but some State businesse is well nighe begunne, or to be made out; but these matters pertain not to me nowe. I muche feare for my good Lord Grey and Raleigh. I hear the plot was well nighe accomplyshede to disturb our peace and favoure Arabella Stuart, the Princes cousin: The Spaniards beare no good wyll to Raleigh, and I doubt if some of the Englyshe have muche better affectione towarde hym. God delyver me from these desygns. I have spokene wyth Carewe concernynge the matter; he thynkethe ill of certaine people whome I knowe, and wyssethe he coude gaine knowledge and further inspectione hereof, touchynge those who betrayede thys busynesse. Cecil dothe beare no love to Raleigh, as you welle understande in the matter of Essex. I wysste not that he hathe evyl desygn, in pointe of faithe or relygion. As he hathe ofte discoursed to me wyth moche lernynge, wysdom, and freedome, I knowe he dothe somewhat dyffer in opynyon from some others; but I thynke alsoe his hearte is welle fixede in everye honeste thyng, as farre as I can looke into hym.

He seemethe wondrously fittede, bothe by arte and nature, to serve the State, especiallie as he is versede in forain matters, his skyll thereyn being alwaies estimable and prayse-worthie. In relygion, he hathe showne, in pryvate talke, great depthe and goode readyng, as I once experyencede at hys owne howse, before manie lernede men. In goode trothe, I pitie his state, and doubt the dyce not fairely thrown, if hys lyfe be the losynge stake; but hereof enowe, as it becomethe not a poore countrie Knyghte to looke from the plow handle into policie and pryvacie; I thanke Heavene, I have been well nigh driven heretofore into narrow straits amongste State rocks and sightles dangers; but, if I have gained little profite and not moche honoure, I have not adventured so farr as to be quite sunken hereyn; I wyll leave you all now to synke or swym, as seemethe beste to youre owne lykinge; I onlie swym now in oure bathes, whereyn I feel some benefyt and more delyghte. My lameness is bettered hereby, and I wyll shortlie set forward to see what goethe on in the citie, and prie safelie amonge those that truste not to mee, neither wyll I truste to them; newe Prynces begete newe lawes, and I am too well strycken in yeares and infirmities to enter on newe courses. God commend and defend your Lordshippe in all youre undertakynge. He that thryvethe in a Courte muste put halfe hys honestie under hys bonnet; and manie do we knowe that never parte that commoditie at all, and sleepe wyth it all in a bag. I reste youre Lordshippes trew friende,

JOHN HARYNGTON.

Sir

Sir John Haryngton to Mr. Secretary
Barlow, 1606.

My good Friend,

I'N compliance with your asking, now shall you accept my poor accounte of rich doings. I came here a day or two before the Danish King came, and from the day he did come untill this hour I have been well nigh overwhelmed with carousal and sports of all kinds. The sports began each day in such manner and such sorte, as well nigh perswaded me of Mahomets paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty as woud have astonishd each sober beholder. Our feasts were magnificent, and the two Royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at table; I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English Nobles, for those, whom I never could get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion and wallow in beastly delights. The Ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. In good sooth, the Parliament did kindly to provide his Majestie so seasonably with money, for there hath been no lack of good livinge; shews, fights, and banquetings from morn to eve. One day, a great feast was held, and after dinner the representation of Solomon his Temple and the coming of the Queen of Sheba was made, or, as I may better say, was meant to have been made, before their Majesties, by device of the Earl of Salisbury and others.—But, alas! as all earthly thinges

do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentment hereof. The Lady who did play the Queens part did carry most precious gifts to both their Majesties; but, forgetting the steppes arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish Majesties lap, and fell at his feet, tho I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His Majesty then got up and woud dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber and laid on a bed of state; which was not a little defiled with the presents of the Queen which had been bestowed on his garments; such as wine, cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices, and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward, or fell down, wine did so occupy their upper chambers. Now did appear, in rich drefs, Hope, Faith, and Charity: Hope did assay to speak, but wine renderd her endeavours so feeble that she withdrew, and hoped the King woud excuse her brevity. Faith was then all alone, for I am certain she was not joyned with good works; and left the Court in a staggering condition. Charity came to the Kings feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed: In some sorte she made obeysance and brought giftes, but said she woud return home again, as there was no gift which Heaven had not already given his Majesty; she then returnd to Hope and Faith, who
were

were both sick and spewing in the lower hall. Next came *Victory*, in bright armour, and presented a rich sword to the King, who did not accept it, but put it by with his hand; and, by a strange medley of versification, did endeavour to make suit to the King; but *Victory* did not triumph long, for, after much lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the antichamber. Now did *Peace* make entry, and strive to get formoste to the King; but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants, and, much contrary to her own semblance, most rudely made war with her olive branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming. I have much marvelled at these strange pageantries, and they do bring to my remembrance what passed of this sort in our Queens days; of which I was sometime an humble presenter and assistant; but I neer did see such lack of good order, discretion, and sobriety, as I have now done. I have passed much time in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise or food. I will now, in good sooth, declare to you, who will not blab, that the Gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on, hereabouts, as if the Devil was contriving every man should blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance. The great Ladies do go well-masked, and indeed it be the only show of their modesty,

to

to conceal their countenance; but, alack, they meet with such countenance to uphold their strange doings, that I marvel not at ought that happens. The Lord of the mansion is overwhelmed in preparations at Theobalds, and doth marvelously please both Kings with good meat, good drink, and good speeches. I do often say (but not aloud) that the Danes have again conquerd the Britains, for I see no man, or woman either, that can now command himself or herself. I wish I was at home:—*O rus, quando te aspiciam?*—And I will, before the Prince Vaudemont cometh. I hear the uniting the kingdoms is now in hand; when the Parliament is held, more will be done in this matter. Bacon is to manage all the affair, as who can better do these State jobs. My cosin, Lord Harington of Exton, doth much fatigue himself with the Royal charge of the Princess Elizabeth, and, midst all the foolery of these times, hath much labour to preserve his own wisdom and sobriety. If you woud wish to see how folly dothe grow, come up quickly; otherwise, stay where you are, and meditate on the future mischiefs of those our posterity who shall learn the good lessons and examples held forth in these days. I hope to see you at the Bathe, and see the gambols you can perform in the hot waters, very speedily; and shall reffe your assured friend in all quiet enjoyments and hearty good affections,

JOHN HARYNGTON.

*An ORATION, made by FECKNAM,
Abbott of Westminster, in the Reign of
Queen MARY.*

UPPOON Fridaye, being the xth of February, was red the second tyme a bill concerning sanctuaries; declaring how, by lawes alreadie passed in the yeare of Henrie the VIIIth, theare remained in deede at this day no sanctuaries other then churches, churcheyards, &c. and those, as in olde tyme it hath bene vsed, to serve in suche cases as they did serve, but for xl daies, and the offender afterward to abiure: But, for that suche abiuration could neither be made into the partes beyond the seas, the same being forbidden by statute; nor vnto anie sanctuarie within the realme, wheare none was in deede, though at Westminster by vsurpacion and permission it had of late bene vsed: Thearfore the bill praied abolishment of all sanctuaries, other then churches, churcheyards, &c. and from those to revive the olde maner of abiuring beyond the seas. It was agreede, for as moche as it might be that the Abbott of Westminster had some new graunt from the Prince, sens the making of that statute of King Henrie the VIIIth, whearbie his sanctuarie might haue bene created of new, that thearfore the Speaker shuld, by his Sergeaunt at armes, geve warning to the Abbott to come before the House vppon the Saturday

turday next, being the xijth of February, with his Councell learned in the lawes, to shew by what warraunt he held sanctuarie at Westminster. According hearynto, vppon the said Saturday following, the Abbott, accompanied with no Counsell learned, but onlie one monke attending on hym, and bearing twoe olde monuments, the one whearof was the charter of sanctuarie, graunted to the house of Westminster by King Edward the Sainct; the other a confirmation of the same charter, with a censure of curse vppon the breakers thearof, made at the request of the said King Edward by the Pope Iohn, at a generall Synode by hym assembled for that purpose; being receaved into the House, thus he began:

MASTER Speaker, and you the rest my Masters of this honorable Court, yesternight, betwene the houres of vj and vij, I was advertised of twoe thinges: The one, That theare is a bill heare exhibited among you for the abolishment of the libertie of sanctuarie at Westminster: The other (for whiche I do mooste humble thank you all) that it hathe pleased you to haue suche favourable consideracion of me, as to graunt me free accesse at this tyme into this place with my Councell, to shew what I coulde or had to saye, for maintenaunce and continuaunce of sanctuarie theare. But, for that the tyme of warning was so short, and this day being the laste day of the Tearme, the learned in the lawe cannot so convenientlie spare me leasure from their other affaires; thearefore neither coulde I my self sufficientlie prepare to saye in that behalf,

nor

nor haue the aide of suche Counsellours as bothe this case requireth, and your gentlenes hath graunted. Whearfore it may please you, that, with your like favour, I may obtaine, that, if in my vnperfitt oration any thing shalbe vttered, otherwise than is profitable for my cause, no advantage be taken thearof; and also that I may haue a further daie graunted, when I may vse the the helpe of Councell learned in the lawes, to to enforme you of suche right and title as I haue to shew for the sanctuarie of Westminster. But, to the matter, I nothing doubt the purpose, not to take away all sanctuaries, all places of refuge for poore offenders; for that weare to moche iniurious, considering that sanctuaries and places of refuge are and haue alwaie bene vsed and inuolablie maintained, not onlie in everie contrey throughout Christendome, but also among the Iewes, yea, and among the Turks and Infidells. All Princes, all Lawe-makers, Solon in Athenes, Lycurgus at Lacedemon, all haue had *loca refugii*, 'places of succour and savegarde,' for suche as haue transgressed lawes and deserued corporall paines.

Sith thearfore ye meane not (as I doubt not) to destroye all sanctuaries: And, if you purpose to maintaine anye, or if anye be worthye to be contynued, Westminster of all other is moost worthie, and that for foure causes: The first is the antiquitie and continuaunce of sanctuaries theare. The second is the dignitie of the persones by whome it was ordiened and preserved. The third the worthines of the place it self. The fourth the profit and commoditie that you haue

aue receaved thearbie. And, first, for the antiquitie of sanctuarie at Westminster, it may please you to haue consideracion, how it is no lesse then-xiiij hundred yeares sens sanctuarie was theare first ordeined; for Lucius, the first Christian King of this realme, which about one hundred yeares after Christ receaved the Christian faith from the holie Pope of Rome and Martir Eleutherius, bye the mynisterie of the holie monkes, Fagane, whome some call Fugane, and Damiane, immediatelie after that he was by the saide holie monkes baptized and instructed in the true profession of Christes religion, did destroe the temple that then stoode heare at Westminster, dedicate to the idoll Apollo; and, in place thearof, erected a new temple to the honor of the true God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of St. Peter from whose see he receavd the benefit of Christianitie; and theare he, by his free graunt, ordeined sanctuarie; for I must confesse that, as the temporall power hath the administracion of death and temporall punishment, so hath it also the onlie awthoritie of dispensacion and pardon.

He, I saye, made proclamacion, That whoe so euer wold resort thither, and worshipp the true God, and embrace the true faith, whiche he had than receaved, shulde enioye free pardon and immunitie for all offences by them committed. Whearin this good Christian King semeth right wiselie to haue followed the pollicie of Darius, King of Assiria; whoe, purposing to haue the memorie of his father Belus honored, did erect an ymage to the likenes of his father,

and

and made publicacion throughout his dominions, That whosoeuer wold come and honor that ymage of his father Belus shuld haue free pardon of all offences, with immunitie of their lives and goodes. So, even as Darius, this Hea-then King, by sanctuarie sought to allure the people to the idolatrous worshipp of his father, the same meane vsed this good Christian King to allure his people to the true worshipp of the true God. And that freedome of sanctuarie, by hym ordeined as a meane to winne men to faithe, so long endured inviolate, as faithe it self continued vnforfaken, even to the tyme of the vngodlie King Vortimer, whiche brought in the wicked Saxons, whoe, having ones prevailed and gotten the rule and possession of this realme into their hands, destroyed bothe the profession of Christian faithe and the freedom of sanctuarie, the meane to allure to faithe.

So remayned faithe exiled, and sanctuarie dissolved, all the tyme of their vngodlye government, till the tyme of holie St. Gregorie, Pope of Rome; whiche, delited with the angelike faces of the Englishe children that he saw stand to be solde at Rome, sent hether the holie monke St. Augustine, Meliens, and other, to preache againe the true faithe of Christ in this realme. They, by their teaching and holienes of life, converted to the true Christian religion Seba, King of the East Saxons. He was by them baptized, and, by them having receaved the Christian faithe, commaunded all his people to embrace the same, and thearwithall restored the first meane of the first good King, Lucius,
to

to enduce to faith, the free sanctuarie at Westminster. So continued it also with the true faith till the tyme of the curssed Danes that overranne this realme, as we reade in histories. They destroyed faith and sanctuarie; and so stode it dissolved till the tyme of the hollie King Sainct Edward. He restored faith and sanctuarie; he receaved againe the freedome and privileges theare: and not onlie receaved the same, but confirmed them also with his mooste ample charter, whiche I haue heare to shewe; and not onlie that, but also procured the Pope to call a Synode for the establisshing thearof; whearin the sanctuarie at Westminster is strengthened with the assent of the Hollie Father, and a great number of Archbishoppes and Bishoppes, whose names are added to the same; and the breakers thearof holden, by their sensures, dampned to perpetuall fyre with the betrayer Iudas.

This I will also leave with you, Master Speaker, and the charter of Sainct Edward; whiche, thoughe it be in itself altogeather notable, yet one clause in the end I will now remember vnto you, as mooste notable, wheare he saith: *Hec charta nostra tamdiu valebit, quamdiu timor et tremor Christiani nominis valebit in gente nostra*: 'This our charter and graunt (saith this Noble Prince and Sainct) shall so long stand
' in strength and be aduaileable, how long as
' the feare and dread of Christian name shall remaine amonge our people.' A mervailous saieng of this hollie King, considering how, in all points, accordinglie it hath agreede with the successe of tymes sens the graunt of this his charter.

charter. A merveilous prophecie, marking
 how it hath followed as he foresaied: For, so
 long as the dread and feare of Christian name
 remayned in England, so longe did Westmin-
 ster enioye the benefite of free sanctuarie: How
 long the true faithe remayned in England vnex-
 iled, so long the privilege of sanctuarie remayn-
 ed at Westminster vndissolued: How long we
 swarved not from the vnitie of Christes church,
 so long we broke not the liberties of sanctuarie.
 Westminster kept their sanctuarie, graunted by
 this hollie King, inviolate till the tyme of the
 late schisma. Then, when all faithe, when all
 truthe of religion, when all the vnitie that con-
 teineth all the church of Christ, when all feare
 and dread of Christian name ceased among vs,
 then ceased the freedome of sanctuarie, and so
 remayned vntill the happie tyme of our moost
 gracious King and Queene, Phillipp and Ma-
 rie. They restored the faithe to vs, and vs to
 the vnitie of Christes church: They haue re-
 uived the feare and dread of Christian name
 in England; they haue revived the freedome of
 sanctuarie at Westminster: And so, I trust,
 with the true faithe, with the vnitie of Christes
 church, and with the feare and dread of Chris-
 tian name, it shall remayne in your considera-
 tions, not to be broken or dissolved by anie lawe
 or ordinaunce heare to be agreed among you.
 Thus farr for the antiquitie and continuance
 of sanctuarie at Westminster. Now come I to
 the second cause whie Westminster shuld still
 enioye sanctuarie: wiche is the dignitie and re-
 verence of persones by whome it was or-
 deined,

deined, maintained, and restored. Though that part be alre dy declared in my setting fourthe the continuaunce thearof from tyme to tyme, so as in vaine I shuld againe rehearse it: Yet this one good note I shall beseeche you all, bothe in this lawe and all other, to haue in memorie, when examples are proponed, ever to haue regarde to the best, and eschue the worst. Whiche if ye doe, sone shall ye fynde how sanctuarie at Westminster hath bene erected and preserved onlie bye Christian, vertuous, and the best Princes; how it hath bene destroyed and dissolved onlie by tyrants, infidells, heretikes, schismatikes, and the worst Governours. Lucius, the first Christian King of Brittain, first receaved faith and ordeined sanctuarie. Seba, first of the Saxons, and second Christian King in this realme, restored faith and sanctuarie. Hollie St. Edward restored and confirmed faith and sanctuarie. Our moost gracious King and Quene, Phillipp and Marie, haue brought home the faith againe, and vnder them we haue enioyed sanctuarie. These Princes (having eye to the best) are meetest to be followed. But, on the other syde, Who haue destroyed sanctuarie? The infidell Saxons destroyed both faith and sanctuarie. The wicked Danes exiled bothe faith and sanctuarie. The late vngodlie heretikes and schismatikes banished faith and dissolved sanctuarie. The examples of these evell Rulers are to be eschued, and the better to be embraced. Thirddie, I alleadge we ought to haue sanctuarie at Westminster, rather than anie wheare els within this realme, for the worthynes of the place

place it self, whiche is diuers waies to be proved. For the temple at Westminster, erected in honor of God and St. Peter, was the first temple where the first Christian King first worshipped the true God, and sett vpp the honor of Christian name. And, if we creadit St. Edward, he writeth heare, in the beginning of his charter, how, when he pourposed to dedicate the hollie temple at Westminster, builded by the first Christian King, Lucius, and restored by hym self, in honour of God and St. Peter, he was admonished in sleape, by a vision of Angells to forbear hallowing of that churche, whiche was allreadie hallowed by St. Peter hym self in person, accompanied with Angells. This wold I not haue alleadged, if this notable Prince and Sainte had not leste it witnessed under his writing and seale, as you see before your eyes. Belyde that we haue theare *insignia regum*, we haue theare the moste precious relique in this realme, next vnto the diuine reliques of faithe, the mooste hollie Sacraments and Sacramentalls: I meane the bodie of that moste hollie Kinge, St. Edward, remayneth theare among vs; whiche bodie the fauour of All Mightie God so preserued, during the tyme of our late schisma, that, though the heritikes had power vppon that whearin the bodie was enclosed, yet on that sacred bodie had they no power; but I haue found it, and sens my comming I haue restored it to his auncient sepulture. We haue theare the bodies of diuers other the best Kings of this realme: Westminster is the ordinarie place of Consecracion, of Coronacion, and Buriall of Kings; and so, for the

the worthienes and reverence of the place it self, if anye ought to haue sanctuarie, Westminster, above all other, is moſte worthie to be preferred. Fourthlie, and laſt of all, I beſeche you, for contynuaunce of ſanctuarie at Westminster, to haue in conſideracion the proſitt and commodities that you haue receaued thearbye; even you I ſay of the laitie, from the higheſt to the loweſt, haue had proſitt by our priuileage of ſanctuarie; I meane not you heare preſent, but men of all your degrees, and of all other lay eſtates; Quenes, Princes, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Knightes, and all ſortes, haue bene preſerued by ſanctuarie: So as all degrees of you owe thankfull conſideracion to ſanctuarie, for by ſanctuarie your lyues, bodies, and goods, haue bene preſerued. In dede, I confeſſe that, if we might be aſſured alwaye to enioye our moſt gracious Kinge and Quene that now are, King Phillippe and Quene Marie; if that weare aſſured to them of God, whiche neuer hathe bene nor ſhalbe graunted to anye, that is, immortallitie of life, and everlaſting raigne over vs; I wolde not then ſay any thing for defence of ſanctuarie; I wold altogeather leave it, not as a thing vnmete to vſed, but as a thing in vaine to be graunted, that ſhuld never nede to be vſed: Suche is their mercifull nature, ſuche a perpetuall ſanctuarie haue they reposed in their owne clemencie for poore offenders; whearof I my ſelf haue had, from tyme to tyme, no ſmall experience; and even of late, before the hollye daies, talking with an olde acquaintaunce of myne, an Officer in the Tower of London, he tolde me theare

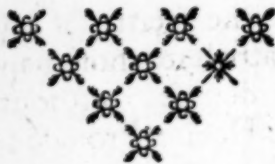
was

was in the Tower of London neuer a prisoner but one Frenchman : A rare example of mercifull and gentle governemente, and suche as if (I say) we might be assured alway to haue the same or like, I wold not, for that I neede not, speake for sanctuarie ; but, as that is denyed to all men, so is it not graunted to our Kinge and Quene : As tymes haue bene, so may theare be againe, theare is *vicissitudo rerum*. Sanctuarie may be hearafter as nedefull, as hearetofore it hath bene profitable. And so, for all theise causes, I trust you will haue respect both to the antiquity of tyme that Westminster hath bene sanctuarie ; to the wayeng of persones by whome it hath bene ordeined, maintayned, and subverted ; to the reverence and worthines of the place it self ; and to thankfull remembraunce of the commoditie that yowr fathers haue theare receaved ; with wise consideracion what you may receave hearafter.

I haue also a charter of the Quenes Maiestie, wherein are graunted to me, by generall words, all liberties, privileges, and franchises, in as large and ample maner as my predecessors, Abbots of that place, had and enioyed at anie tyme within one yeare before the dissolucion thearof. How farr that generalitie of words extendeth, or what further matter of right and title the lawes do graunt to me, because I my self can not so, for aduancement of my interest, declare and pleade as the forme of law requireth, I shall beseeche you to proceade toward me with the same favor you haue begonne, and that I may haue a further day to bring my Counsell hether ;

in whiche tyme, bothe I shall searche for further knowledge heerein, and they shall better set forth my right vnto you, than I my self am able. And in that meane while, and also hear- after, from tyme to tyme, what other charters or monuments so ever I haue concerninge this matter, they are at your commaundement.

This being said, he was requyred by the Speaker to departe into the vtter rome, while the House did deliberate vpon suche answere as shuld be given hym; whiche done, after consultation, it was agreeede that he shuld be called in againe, and the Speaker shuld, for answere, assigne vnto hym Tuesday next following to come againe with his Counsell learned; whiche he thankfullie receaved, adding this: That, if he had not other charters then those to shew, they wold not thearbie take advantage, but impute it to the iniquitie of tymes whearin they weare perished; declaring how as by miracle these weare preserved, being found by a servant of my Lord Cardinales, in a chields hand play- eng with them in the streete.



The QUEENES Most Excellent MAJESTIES
ORATION *in the* PARLAMENT
HOUSE, Martii 15, 1575.

DOE I see Godds most sacred and text
of Holie Writt drawn to diuers sences
(be it never so perfitlie taught); and that I
hope that my Speache can passe fourthe throughe
soe many cares without mistake? Where soe
many ripe and diuers witts doe oftner bende
theme selves to conster, then attaine the per-
fect vnderstandinge, yf any looke for eloquence,
I shall deceive their hope; yf some thinke I can
match their guiste that spake before, they holde
an open heresie. I cannot satisfie their longing
thirste that watch for those delights, vnlesse I
sholde affourde theme what my selffe had never
yet in my possession. If I sholde saie the sweetest
speache and eloquentest tonge that euer was in
man, I were not able to expresse that restless
care which I haue euer bent to governe for the
greatest welthe; I sholde wronge myne intent,
and greatlie baite the merite of my owne inde-
uour. I cannot attribute those happes and good
successe to my deuysse, without detractinge
mouche from the Devine Prouidence; nor chal-
lengde to my priuate comendation what is on-
lie dewe to Godds eternall glorie. My sex per-
mits it not; or, if it might be in this kinde,
yet finde I noe impeachment whie, to parsons

of more base estate, the like proportion sholde not be allotted. One speciall favour, uotwithstandinge, (I must needes confes) I haue iust cause to uaunt of: That, whearas vanitie and love of change is ever soe ryfe in seruaunts towards their masters, children towards their parents, and in priuate freendes one towards another, as thoughe, for one yeare or two, they can content to holde their course vpright, yet after, by mistruste or dowbt of worst, they are dissevered, and in time waxe werie of their wonted likinge: Yet, till I finde that assured zeale amongst my faithfull subiects to my speciall comforte, which was first declaired to my great encouragment, I am a Prince that of necessitie must discontent a nombre to delight and please a few; because the greatest parte is not beste inclined to continewe soe long time without great offence, mouch mislike, or common grudge. Or happes it ofte that Princes Actes are conceiued in soe good parte, and favourablie interpreted? No, no, my Lords; howe great my fortune is in this respect, I were ingrate yf I sholde not acknowledge. And, as for those rare and speciall benefitts which manye yeares haue followed and accompanied me with happye raigne, I attribute to God alone, the Prince of rule; and account my selfe no better then his handmaid, rather brought vp in a scoole to abide the ferula, then traded in a kingdome to support the septer. Yf pollicie had bene preferred before truthe, it wold, I trowe you, even at the first beginninge of my rule, haue turned vpside down so great affaires, or entred into tossinge

inge of the great waves and billowes of the worlde, which mighte, if I had soughte myne ease, have harbored and cast ancker in a more seeming securitie. It cannot be denyed but worldlie wisdom rather bad me marry and knitt my selfe in league and alliaunce with great Princes, to purchase freendes on every side by worldlie meanes, and there repose the trust of myne assured strengthe, where force colde neuer wante to giue assistaunce. Was I to seeke in that which to mans iudgment owtwardlie must needs be thought the safest course? Noe; I can neuer graunt my selfe to be soe simple, as not to see what all mens eyes discouered. But all those means of leagues, alliaunces, and forrein strengthes I quite forsook, and gaue my selfe to seeke for truthe withowt respecte, reposinge my assured staie in Gods most mightie grace, with full assuraunce. Thus I began, thus I did proceed, and thus I hope to ende. These se-venteene yeares God hath bothe prospered and protected with good successe under my direction. And I nothinge doubt but the same maintaininge hande will guyde youe still, and bringe youe to the ripenes of perfection.

Consider with yourselves the bitter stormes and troubles of your neighbors; the true cause whearof I will not attribute to Princes (God forbid I sholde) since those misfortunes maie proceede as well from sinnes amongst the people; for want of plauges declair not alwaies want of guilte, but rather proue Gods mercie. I knowe, besides, that priuat persones maie finde soner faulte, then mende a Princes state; and,

for my parte, I graunt myselffe to guiltie to increase the burdein, by mislike of any. Let all men therefore beare their priuat faults, myne owne haue weight enough for me to aunswere for. The best waie, I suppose, weare bothe for you and me, by humble prayers, to require of God, that not in weeninge, but in perfect weighte; in beinge, not in seminge; wee maie wishe the beste, and further it with owr abilitie: Not the finest witt, the strongest iudgement that can rave most deeplie, and take vp mens captious eares with pleasaunt tales, hath greater care to guide youe to the safest state, and be gladder to establishe youe where men oughte to thinke theme selves moste sure and happie, then shee that speaks these wordes. Nowe, touchinge daungers cheiflie feared, first to rehearse my meaninge, latelie vnfolded to youe by my L. Keeper: Yt shall not be nedefull, though I must needs confes myne owne mislike, soe much to striue against the matter, as, if I wear a milke made with a paille on my arme, whearby my priuat person might be litle sett by, I wolde not forsake that poore and single state to matche with the greatest Monarche; not that I doe condemne the double knott, or iudge amisse of suche as, forced by necessitie, cannot dispose theme selves to another life; but wishe that none wear drawen to chaunge, but suche as cannot keepe honest limitts. Yet, for your behalfe, there is no waie so difficulte, that maie towche my priuat person, which I will not well content my selffe to take, and, in this case, as willinglie to spoile my selffe quite of my selffe,

as yf I sholde put of my vpper garment when it weryes me, yf the present state might not therbie be encombred. I knowe I ame but mortall; which good lesson Mr. Speaker, in his thirde division of a vertuous Princes properties, had reason to remembre; and so, their while, I prepair my selffe to welcome deathe, when soever it shall please God to send it. As yf others wolde indeavour to performe the like, yt wolde not be soe bitter vnto manye, as yt hathe bene accompted. Myne owne experience teacheth me to be no fonder of those vaine delights, then reason wolde; nor further to delight in thinges uncertaine, then maie seeme conuenient. But let good heed be taken, that, in reaching too farr after future good, youe perill not the present and beginn to quarrell, and fall by dispute together by the eares, before it be decyded whoe shall weare my Crowne. I will not denye but I might be thought the indifferentest iudge in this respect, that I shall not be when theise points are fullfilled, which none beside my selffe can speak in all this companye. Myfdeeme not my wordes, as thoughe I sought what heretofore hathe bene graunted. I entend it not; my braines be to thynn to carry soe tuffe a matter. Although, I trust, God will not in suche haste cutt of my daies, but that, accordinge to your owne defart and my desier, I maie prouide some goode waie for your full securitie. And thus, as one that yeeldeth youe moe thanks, bothe for youre zeale vnto my selffe, and seruice in this Parlament, then my tonge can vttre, I recommend youe vnto the assured garde and best keepinge,

keepinge of the Almightye; who will preferue youe safe, I truste, in all felicitie; and wish with all, that each of youe had tasted some dropes of Lethes floode, to cancell and deface those speaches owt of your remembrance.

In a Copy of the above **SPEECH** is found the following **NOTE**:

Memorandum, These good wordes were given unto mee by my most Honorede Ladye and Princeesse, and did bringe withe theme these good aduyfes:—"Boye lacke, I have made
 " a Clerke wryte faire my poore wordes for
 " thyne use, as it cannote be suche striplinges
 " have entrance into Parliamente Assemblies as
 " yet. Ponder theme in thy howres of leysure,
 " and plaie wythe theme tyll they enter thyne
 " understandinge; so shalt thou hereafter, per-
 " chance, fynde some good frutes hereof when
 " thy godmother is oute of remembrance;
 " and I do thys, because thy father was readye
 " to farve and love vs in trouble and thrall."

N. B. Sir John Harington's father was in the Tower with the Princeess Elizabeth, 1554.

Sir

Sir John Harington's REPORT to
 Queen ELIZABETH concerning the
 EARLE of ESSEX's Journeys in
 IRELAND, 1599.

AFTER the Lo. Levetenant-generall and Governor of Ireland had rested certayn days at Dublin, for establishing the state of the kingdom, and for making his necessary provysyon for the warre (which I can but conjecture) his Lordship departed thence (May 10) toward the champion fields between the villages Kilrushe and Castell Martin: In whiche place (on the 12th) he appointed to meete him 17 Ensignes of foote and 300 horse; whiche his Lp. devided into regiments, appointing the same to be commaunded by Collonells: The daie folowinge, the rebells shewed themselves in small numbers, deliueringe some fewe shott owte of woods and ditches vpon owr vaunt couriers, but without anie hurte. This night the armie lodged by Athie, whiche hath beene a greate markett, but broughte by theis warres into the state of a pore villadge: It is devided in two partes by the river Baro, over the whiche lyethe a stone bridge, and over that a Castell, occupied by Iames Fitz Deane (a Gent. of the familie of the Gerraldynes, who yeilded himselfe to the mercie of the Lo. Leasetenaunte; as did

H 5

also,

also, the same daie, the Lo. Vicount Mountgarrett and the Lo. of Cahir (bothe Butlers) who were presented to his Lo. by the Earle of Ormonde, who in that place ioyned his forces to our armie: His Lo. having putt a garde in the Castell of Athie, passed his forces over the Baro by the bridge of the Castell; whose river beinge not otherwaies fordable but with difficultie; and the bridge therof the onlie waie, whiche leadethe into the Queenes Countie; thimportaunce of this enterprise must appeare to the most dull and ignoraunt sence. At Woodstocke (a villadge scituate vpon Baro) his Lo. expected victualls a daie or two for the release of Marieborroughe (a fort of muche importaunce, but of contemptible strenghte) in the Queenes Countie; to whiche his Lo. nowe hasted, not permitinge other staie in his iourne, then necessitie gaue cause. Duringe the tyme the army encamped (May 14) by Woodstocke, the rebels attempted the stealing of some of our horses; whiche beinge perceaued by Sir Christopher St. Lawrence (sonne to the Lo. of Howthe) he passed by the Baro naked, and, folowed by his menne, reskewed the praie, and retourned withe the heade of a rebell; aboute the same tyme, the rebell presented himself aboute 200 stronge, in the sight of the Castell Reban (a howse of Capt. Leas, a myle from the armie) whiche, vpon sighte of the Earle of Sowthampton, who hasted towardes them in moste soldierlike order, withe a small troope of horse and foote, retyred themselues to there bogges, and from thence to there woodes:

There

There the Lo. Greye, beinge carried nearer to the rebell by heate of valour (naturall to suche yeeres and nobilitie) then was reasonable, and contrarie to the commaundemente of the Earle of Sowthampton, was, for his contempte, punished by the Lorde Leiufetennaunte withe a nyghtes imprisonment. So soone as his Lo. was provided of victualls, he marched withe his armie towards the forte Marieborroughe, in the Queenes countie. In the waie, the rebell shewed himself by a passadge called Blackeforde; through which my Lo. marched in suche excellent order, that it terrefied him not to attempte vpon anie parte of the armie, but to approche neare vnto the same. His Lo. havinge victualled the forte, where he knyghted Syr Fra. Rushe, and encreased the garrison, lodged that nyght (May 17) at the foote of a verie highe hill, called Crophie Iuffe (the Generall latelie of the province of Leinster) wheare the rebell wonce in Rorie O More shewed himselfe, withe about 500 foote and 40 horse, 2 myles from our campe, renewinge that nighte, and contynewinge the nexte morninge, a challendge, which he had made a fewe daies before, to fight, some of his withe some of ours, withe swordes and targettes which was consented vnto by his Lordshippe, but the rebell neuer came to performe it. His Lordship havinge, from the topp of Crophie Iuffe, veiued the countrie rounde aboute, and particularlie the waie of that daies journie, led the armie towards Cashell, $\frac{1}{2}$ a myle from that nightes quarter. The nature of the passadge is suche: Thoroughe a thicke woode

$\frac{1}{4}$ halfe of a myle longe, leadethe a highe waye, in
 moſte places 10 goinge paces broad, whiche, in
 the middeſt, was traueſed with a trenche, and the
 wood plaſhed on bothe ſydes; from behind whiche
 the enimie might with facilitie gaule oure menne
 in their paſſadge. To the other too ſydes of the
 woode are adioyned too bogges, whiche ſerue the
 rebell for a verie ſure retreat from all force of
 our armie: But vpon an elevated pece of ground
 betweene the woode and bogge, on the leſte
 hande, was a villadge, from behinde whiche the
 rebell might fall in and returne to his ſtrength.
 His Lo. to make his waie ſecure thoroughe the
 paſſadge, ordered his armie in this forte: The
 whole armie was devided into 7 battailes; be-
 fore the vauntgarde marched the forlorne hope,
 conſiſtinge of 40 ſhott and 20 ſhorte wea-
 pons, with the order that the ſhott ſhulde not de-
 charge, till theie preſented theire peeces to the
 rebelles breastes in theire trenches; and that ſud-
 dainelie the ſhorte weapons ſhoulde enter the
 trenches pell mell, vpon either ſyde of the vaunt-
 garde (whiche was obſerued in the battaile and
 rearegarde) marched wynges of ſhott, enterlyned
 with pikes, to whiche were ſente ſecondes with
 as much care and diligence as occaſion required.
 The baggadge and a parte of the horſe marched
 before the battaile; the reſte of the horſe fell in
 before the rearegarde, excepte 30, whiche, vn-
 der the conducte of Sir Henerie Dauers, made
 the retreat of the whole armie. Theis goinge
 to the releaſe of Capt. Morriſham, who was in-
 gadged by the rebell, theie repelled him without
 anye other loſſe, than that Sir Alexander Ratt-

liffe hadd his horffe shott in the heade of the
 troupe. The vauntgarde, folowed by the other
 partes of the armie, havinge by provident marche
 gayned the ende of the paffadge (where desco-
 uered it selfe a lardge champion) was commaund-
 ed to make alt, vntill the horffe, and whatsoeuer
 was vnprofitable in the straite, were aduanced
 to the plaine. This was the order (as I haue
 harde) appointed by the Lo. Leiufetennaunte;
 whiche beinge not obserued in all partes of the
 armie withe like diligence, there were losse by
 follie Capt. Gardner and Capt. Boswell, withe
 some 3 private menne. His Lp. was that day
 in no place (that is, in euerie place) flyinge like
 lighteninge from one parte of the armie to an
 other, leadinge, directinge, and folowinge the
 vauntgarde, battaile, and rearegarde. The
 deathea of our Captaines were revenged by our
 quartermen and scoutemen, who, accompanied
 withe diuers Gentlemen, slewe 7 of the rebells,
 whiche assaied to force the quarter; of whiche
 were Alexander Donnell, a Gentleman, and Don-
 nell Knogger of base burthe, but, for the proöfe
 of his daringe and skill, of especiall esteeme withe
 Tyrone. In this conflicte, Edmonde Bushell,
 Gent. Vsher to his Lp. receaued a hurte in the
 breaste with a pike. The daie folowinge (May
 19.) the Lo. Leiufetennaunte, observinge the for-
 mer order of marche, ledd his menne thoroughe
 the paffadge called Ballia Raggatt, where we
 founde the rebelles so fewe in nomber, and so ti-
 merous in attemptinge, as their behaviour (on the
 20th) prooved that the order of the other daies
 marche was terrible vnto them. Theis pas-
 sages

sages thus overcome, to the no small terror of
 the rebell, and admiration to the soldiers, his
 Lp. came to Killkennie, where he was receaued
 withe as muche ioye of the cittizens as coule be
 expressed, either by liuelie orations, or silent
 strewinge of the streetes withe hearbes and rushes.
 To Clonmell (on the 24th) his Lp. was well
 wellcomed, to the like ioye of the people, and
 withe a Lattin oration, or rather a dialogue,
 wherein the awthor had adiured his Lp. con-
 cerninge the establisshinge of peace in Irelande;
 whiche beinge deliuered in vnfitt termes his Lo.
 reprobued, protestinge his antipathie concerninge
 matters of iustice; to moderate whiche, hir sa-
 cred Maiestie hadd giuen him bothe sworde and
 power. The daie after (the 25th) the Castell
 Darenclare, whiche had longe tyme offended
 the cittizens of Clonmell in their traffique by
 the ryver of Suire to Waterford, yeilded to his
 Lps. mercie. In the middest of the river of
 Suire lyethe an isleland, the same a naturall rock,
 and vpon it a Castell, whiche, althoughe it be
 not built withe anie greate arte, yet is the site
 suche by nature, that it maie be saide to be inex-
 pugnable: Of this Castell, whiche is called Ca-
 hie, is the Lo. of Caire entituled Baron; whiche
 beinge helde by James Buttler, his younger bro-
 ther, the L. Leiu. sent the Lo. of Caire to parle
 withe him; and withe him Sir Henerie Dauers,
 whome he adiured, duringe the parlie, to vnder-
 stande as muche as he mighte the nature of the
 place: Who retourninge withe the Lord of Caire
 (euill satisfied that his brother woulde not yeild vpp
 the Castle) related the site and strengthe of the
 Castell

Castell to be suche as is mencioned. This night his Lordship reveiued the place himselfe in person, and caused the same to be done by the Lord Marshall and Seriaunt Maior, commaunding that, after a diligent reueiwe, the approaches, takinge the aduantage by the waie of olde diches and walls, shoulde that nighte be remoued to the wall of the counter scarpe: One daie beinge intermitted, without dooinge anie thinge, for wante of th'artillerie, whiche coulde not arriue in shorte, the same beinge onlie drawen by the force of menne. There passed a daie or two, before the batterie was commenced. The same nighte that the batterie was planted (May 28) his Lordship sent the Lord Marshall and Seriaunt Maior, withe 300 menne, to occupie a garden whiche adioyned to the Castell, vpon the fowthe weste parte. Althoughe the passadges to this garden were suche, that a verie small number mighte haue made fronte to an armie, yet did theis beastes firste quite that place, and, presentlie after, theie abandoned the Castell, excepte 8 persons; to the releife of whiche were sente, earlie in the morninge, 100 kearne by the White Knight. In the begininge of the nighte (May 29) Sir Christofer St. Lawrence was sente, withe 300 kearne menne, to possesse an isleland whiche liethe from the Castell northeaste (not more than hargabushe shott) and to breake vpp too bridges; one of whiche leadethe from the isleland to the maine, and the other from the same isleland to the Castell. The rebells (on the 30th) seeinge themselfes, in the morninge, seclued from that releefe whiche theie howerlie expected from

Desmonde,

Desmonde and from the White Knightes, at night theie conveied themselues (withe muche stillnesse) owte of the Castell, whiche yet beinge perceaued by our gardes, theie fell presentlie to execucion, and entered aswell the Castell without resistaunce as direction; by whiche accident was repossessed for hir Maiestie, withe the slaughter of 80 rebells, one of the strongest places by nature that is in Irelande, or that can be imadgined ells where. Duriinge this siedge, Capt. Brett was shott in the bodie withe a hargabushe, as was also Capt. George Carie thoroughe bothe cheekes and thoroughe the bodie, the bullett enteringe aboute the lefte shoulder, and passinge thoroughe the opposite arme hole; whiche hurtes were more then miraculous, for that there were onlie 3 shott made, and his bodie in all other partes covered withe an armor of muskett proof. Theis 2 wor-thie Captaines, hauinge in this siedge, as in manie other places, made honorable proofes of their vertue, leste, within a fewe daies, the example thereof to be admyred of all, but to be imitated of fewe, and theie themselues departed to a happier life. His Lordship hauinge (May 31) repaired the breaches of the Castle, and leste suche a garrison in the same as muste annoie the fronteringe rebell (his sickemen beinge sente to Clonmell) he arryved by easie iournies at Lymmericke, where he was entertained withe two Englishe orations; in whiche I knowe not whiche was more to be discommended, wordes, composicion, and oratorie, all of them hauinge their perticular excellencies in barbarisme, harshenes, and rustical bothe pronouncinge and action. The armie,
whiche

whiche hadd endured muche, aswell by fowle
 waies as by vnseasonable weather, beinge well
 refreshed by the release it receaued from Lym-
 mericke, was conducted by his Lordship to
 Adare, a ruinated abbeie; in whiche villadge
 his Lordship lodged a regiment of foote. Pass-
 inge the same daie (June 4.) ouer the river
 Adare, ouer a narrow bridge, whiche was well
 perceaued by the rebell Desmonde and Lacie;
 who never made a shew to prohibit the passadge,
 althoughe theie hadd (not muche more then mus-
 kett shott from the same) about 12 foote vnder
 5 Ensignes and 2 Cornettes of horse, either ap-
 pearinge at leaste to be a 100. Theie were
 trained in sight of our armie, devided from it by
 an vnfordable river and a bogge; but in suche
 disorder, that it rather seemed a morrice daunce,
 by there trippinge after there badge pipes, then
 anie soldierlike exercise; theie conveyinge them-
 selues (after a while in a ringedaunce into a
 woode whiche theie hadd close at there backes,
 and from whiche theie haue not departed far-
 ther at anie tyme, since our armie entered Moun-
 ster, then an olde hunted hare dothe from hir
 couert for releiuse. Early in the morninge, the
 armie passed the riuer, and marched towards a
 passadge $\frac{1}{2}$ a myle from Adare, whiche hadd on
 either syde a woode, but vnder that on the right
 hande a bogge, by the heade of whiche extend-
 ed it selfe the woode on the lefte hande; the pas-
 sadge laie ouer the bogge, whiche was verie de-
 ficiente bothe for maine naturall strengthe whiche
 we founde in the same, and for pillages made
 that morninge by the rebell. At the enteraunce
 into

into the passadge betweene the woodes, the dexter wings beinge not so farr aduanced as the forlorne hopes; his Lordship (beinge in the heade of his troupes to directe them) hadd deliuered vpon close at hand, and from reste a volley of at leaste 100 shott, whiche were instauntlie repelled by some troupes whiche his Lordship caused to be drawen forth of the vauntgarde, commaunded that daie by the Earle of Thomonde: His Lordship, havinge withe the losse of more then an 100, without anie losse of his owne, putt the rebell to retreate on that parte, possessed himselfe of the passadge, placinge on either syde a regiment to assure the same; and, that done, returned to giue order to the rearegarde, where he was in like danger as before in the vauntgarde, ouercominge the same withe the like order, but not altogether withe so much slaughter. The rebell thus repelled by the prudence of his Lordship, the whole troupes marched throughe the passadge, not alone without losse, but without anie difficultie: On the lefte hande of the passadge was Plunkett lodged, who, with 300 rebels (makinge shewe that daie, and withe an ecchoe in the woode, withe the reporte of 30 or 40 shott) was constrained the nexte daie to giue pledges to Desmonde for thassuraunce of his feithe: From the passadge his Lordship conducted his armie to the Castell Ascheton, whiche was then somethinge distressed by the rebell, who intercepted the passadge in suche sorte as, vntill the tyme it coude not convenientlie receaue anie relieuf from Lymmericke, from whence it it was nowe victualld by his Lordship, the rebell
neither

neither hinderinge his Lordship to passe nor repasse his armie ouer the river of Doile, vpon whiche Ascheton is scituate, where a small number might haue made heade to a copious troupe; nor indeuoringe anie notable offence, in anie place where theie might haue prooued their force withe muche aduantage: His Lordship (as I coniecture, to giue the rebell an inexcusable provocation) diuerted his iournie towards the Castle Conon in the countie of Korke, Desmond's cheife howse. In the waie passinge betweene woodes (harde by Phemters towne) whiche flanked the armie on either syde within musquett shott, his Lordship, peradventure to lett the rebell knowe the virtue of his menne, and their weaknesse, entertained skaramouche with them in their owne strengthe, forcinge them to abandon the same, without other losse, then that Sir Henerie Norrice, presentinge a chardge withe his troupe of horse, hadd his legge broken withe a shott; the whiche, to prevente the laste euil, or rather the firste, enteraunce into garde was cutt of, a fewe daies after, at Killmallocke: He endured the same withe extraordinarie patience. His Lordship, accordinge to his custome, findinge himselfe in euerie place of action, was this daie in as muche danger as anie private man: So was likewise the Earle of Sowthampton in muche danger, expectinge perpetuallie in the heade of the troupe (all the tyme of the skaramouche) opportunitie to chardge the rebell: The Lord Greye, havinge that daie the vauntgarde of horse, gaue chardge, withe 12 of his horse, to as manie of the rebels, forcinge them into

into the woodes to there foote. There dyed of the rebell clan Donnell, and one of the Burghes, bothe Commaunders; onlie of ours Capt. Iennings, Sir Henerie Norrice beinge, by reporte, certainelie recouered, as is also Fra. Markam, a Gent. of knowne valor, who hadd his righte cheeke pearced withe a bullett (June 16.) The same daie that the armie passed by Castell Connor, was the same entertained in skaramouche from the skirte of a road called Banno Coulaghe by Mac Carties menne, where Sir Henerie Dauers (indeuoringe to saue certaine stragglers that indifcreetlie hadd ingadged themselues) was shott in the face, the bullett passinge to the roote of his leste eare, where it still restethe, but without anie annoyaunce, he beinge alreadie perfectlie recouered. Desmonde, insteade of defendinge his Castell, raced the same; by whiche, thorough his whole countrie, the armie marched without anie ofence, althoughe he might haue presented himselfe in our waie in places of exceedinge aduantadge; so that, without anie impeachment of the rebell, his Lordship arriued, on the 22d (notwithstandinge greate bragges by Desmonde) vnfoughte withall at Waterforde, where his Lordship was receaued withe two Lattin orations, and withe as muche ioyfull concourse of people as anie other towne of Irelande: Duriinge his Lordships abode in Waterforde, the importaunce of the plan requiringe the same, on the 23d, he reviewed withe carefull deligence the harborroughe, as also the forte Don Canon, whiche garde the same; the site and fabricature of whiche declare Sir Iohn Norrys (by whose approbation that was chosen,

chosen, and then allowed) as iudiciall an ingineer,
 as his other artes haue ennobled him for a wor-
 thie souldier. For the syte, it is so ouertopped
 by a imminent height not distant from it more
 then 150 paces) that no mann can stande firme
 in the piazza of the forte; and, as for anie arte
 of fortification, whereof the forte should partici-
 pate, and wherbie skillfull ingineers are accus-
 tomd to render places more defencible, I shoulde
 thinke the same (submittinge yet my censure to the
 comptrolement of more experienced iudgments)
 an insufficient intrenchment, and consequentlie a
 most defectiue fortresse; as whose shelter af-
 fordethe ferme lodginge under it to an enemie, co-
 ueringe him from all offences of the parrapett,
 and yet not the same raised to suche height as
 maie secure the defendauntes in the *strata coperta*;
 whose diches are lowe and narrowe and shallowe;
 whose ramparte and parrapett are lowe and slen-
 der; whose defences are *a forbici* and *in barba*;
 and, that whiche is worse, there correspondence
 hindred by the cassamates in the dicke, whose
 piazza is narrowe, affordinge no place for re-
 treat, when that ramparte whiche is shall either
 be beaten or topped; all whiche misfortunes are
 founde in that parte of the forte whiche regard-
 ethe the nauie. The parte of the forte towards
 the water, althoughe it hathe not so manie de-
 fectes as the former, yet hathe it as grosse errors
 as anie are mencioned. The 2 plateformes be-
 inge bothe of them so skante that theie are not
 alone capable of suche a number of peeces as
 might serue to commaund the water, but that
 theie whiche are there haue not sufficient place
 for

for there recoyle: The defectes of whiche plate-formes are suted withe aunswerable parapettes, whiche beinge slender and of stone, theie promise (insteade of securitie) deathe to as manie as shall, in tyme of necessitie, presente themselues to defence.

From Waterforde to Dublin (wither his Lordship was nowe (June 25) in retourne withe his armie) leadethe a double waie; the one thorough the clannes, whiche deniethe passadge to horse and carriadges; the other alonge the sea shore, by whiche his Lordship reviewed his armie, aswell, peraduenture, for the conueniencie of the passadge, as to visite in his waie the garrisons of Ennis Corphie, Arctloe, Wikloe, and Newcastle. Untill the armie hadd passed, Amias Corphis, the rebell, neuer shewed himselfe, for all the former daies marche was thorough a plain champion, where he neuer trustethe himselfe; but, before the armie was aduanced the midd-waie from Ennis Corphie towardes Arctloe, the rebell, aided withe the opportunitie of woods and bogges, presented himselfe in our waie, for the distroinge of certaine villadges; all whiche (and only whiche) his Lordship caused, in despite of him, to be consumed withe fyre; on June 30. Aboute three myles from Arctloe, the armie was to passe a forde, where the enimie presented himselfe in our waie, withe opinion, as maie be conjectured, if not to prohibite, yet to trouble the armie in the passadge. The skaramouche was for one halfe hower hottlie meinteined, either parte contendinge the forme; the other, by freshe secondes, borrowed from their grosses whiche theie

heie hadd at hande. The Lord-Lieutennaunt, thinkinge to inclose the rebell betweene his horse and foote, commaunded the Lord of Sowthampton (who was now passinge the soorde) to take the first opportunitie to chardge; but the rebell whose dreade of our horse causethe them to observe diligentlie all there mocions) perceavinge the Earle of Sowthampton to advaunce withe his troupes, retyled himselfe into his strenghte, a parte of them castinge awaie there armes for lightness, whiche yet escaped not altogether the execution of the Lord Leiuftennaunt, who directed the foote in that parte. The rebell was to passe in his strenghte thorough two small feldes inclosed; thorough the ende of the seconde of whiche laie a horse waie vnto a neighbour wood. His Lordship, invited by the opportunity of the place, commaunded

, an Irishe Commaunder of horse, to chardge, who committed a double error; the one, that he sente out xx or 30 of his troupe before the reste, whiche might haue broken the rebels, and haue receaued his firste volley: The other, that, for aboute 12 shott that were delivered upon his troupe, he turned heade, when his trumpet sounded a chardge; givinge life to more then 200 rebels that stood at his mercy. In the meane while, whiles theis thinges were in hande, the whole troupes were passed the sands, and his Lordship beganne to contynewe his marche towardes Arctloe; layinge in a village vpon the waie an ambuscade of aboute 40 horse, whiche might cutt off the rebell, &c. whiche his Lordship most iudicially supposed he

he shoulde approche to offende the reare: But the rebell (who is not easlie surprised by ambuscado) either perceavinge or suspectinge deceipt made an alt withe his two troupes, whiche appeared to be about 800 foote and 50 horse (number whiche, howsoever it seeme contemptible, yet is it sufficient to fighte, in the strength of the countrie, withe 50 suche armies as ours). His Lordship, perceavinge the rebells stay, rallied his horse to there place; and, the countrey beinge to apparaunce plaine and ferme champion the whole armie seemed to promise to it selfe securitye, and the rebell not presuminge euery man attended only to hasten to the quarters in a speedy marche, wherebie the army was distracted into an excessive lengthe, and brought thereby (althoughe into no disorder) yet in to some vnrledynes. Whiles the armie marched, his Lordship (nothinge beinge more famylier vnto him then to obserue the order of his owne troupes in there marche) ascended for this purpose the top of a hill, whose height discovereth the whole plaine, and, perceavinge from thence that the rebell prepared to giue vpon the reare of the sinister winge of the vauntgard, ledd by Marmaduke Constable, Ensigne to Capt. Ellys Iones he commaunded the Lord of Sowthampton (whom gathered suddainly a few straglinge horse) to haste to there succor. In the meane tyme while the Lord of Sowthampton was occupied in the assuringe of the seate, and endeavoringe to drawe the rebell (whiche held him in his strength) vpon ferme grounde, the Lord Leiuftennaunt, not attended vpon by more then

or 7 horse, presented a chardge to the rebells
 grosse of horse and foote, whiche was nowe ma-
 kinge towards the Earle of Sowthampton,
 whom theie sawe to be ingadged, and to be vpon
 a grounde disadvantadgious for horse; but, per-
 ceavinge the resolucion of the Lord Leiusten-
 naunt, who constantly expected them vpon the
 syde of a bogge, whiche laie betweene him and
 them, theie made an alt; about whiche tyme,
 the Lord of Sowthampton, havinge encreased the
 number of his horse to aboute 24, seeinge it losse
 tyme to indeuor to drawe the vermyne from
 there strengthe, resolved to chardge them at all
 disadvauntadge; whiche was performed withe that
 suddainenesse and resolucion, that the enimie,
 whiche before was disperfed in skaramouche, had
 not tyme giuen him to putt himselfe in order;
 so that, by the opportunitie of occasion taken by
 the Earle, and virtue of them that were withe
 him, (whiche were almoste all noble) there was
 made a notable slaughter of the rebells; suche as
 escaped from their grosse were intercepted from
 their grosse (to whiche theie laboured to retyre)
 by our foote, sente thither by the Lo. Leiuse-
 tennaunt in releiuse of the horse; manie of
 whiche, by the too muche forwardnes of the
 ryders, were there imbogged; by whose infortu-
 nate deathe Capt. Cayen, whose industry hadd
 adorned him withe muche bothe science and lan-
 guadge, dyed in the plane; and Capt. Constable,
 after a double wounde, saved himselfe by his
 owne virtue. That whiche the foote did in this
 parte was not lesse glorious then that of the
 horse, their beinge a staunde made by Sir Hen-

rie Pore, Capt. Courtney, and Ensigne Constable, withe 100, againste (at leste) 400 rebels: But that whiche hinderd the comminge downe of the rebels was the presence of the Lo. Leiustennaunt, who stoode in a place fitt to offende bothe by direction and number, havinge a litle before ioyned vnto him the rearewarde of foote and horse. The rebels, Donogh Hispanoh and Phelim M^c Pheoghe, mooved either withe the slaughter of theires, wherof dyed more then a 100 (five of whiche were Commzunders); or terrified withe the order, redinesse, and virtue of our menne, whiche drewe their rowte, and desyred Sir Th. Davers, who that daie commaunded the rearegarde of horse, to come out vnto his Lordship, vpon pretexts whiche his Lordship denied, as a cowrse vnfitt for rebels, refusinge to receaue them vpon other terms then vpon submission to her Maiesties mercie. The next day folowinge (July 1) his Lordship vewed the place, where (some weekes before) Phelim M^c Pheoghe, withe 400 foote and 150 horse (on a plane of vnspeakeable advauntadge to our menne) hadd overthrowen Sir Hen. Harrington, Knight, who had withe him 450 foote and 60 horse. Theire whiche escaped by flight, or by base hydinge of themselves from the force of the rebels sworde, were by a Martiall Courte condempned (on the 3d) to be hanged on the gallowes; whiche sentence was mitigatt by his Lordships mercie, by whiche euerie 10th man was sentenced onlie to die; the reste appointed to serue in the army for pioneers.

Thus

Thus is my dyscourse, guided by the foot-
 steppes of victorious and successfull iourneys, re-
 turned, as it were, in a circular revolution; but
 Dublin, his firste periode, where the Lord
 Leiuftennaunt nowe remayneth, meditatinge, as
 it is thoughte, a seconde iourneie. If in this
 relation I haue ommitted anie thinge of note, or
 noted anie thinge superfluous, either error is
 ignoraunce, neither iudgment, my purpose be-
 inge to discowrse breiflie the iournie, withoute
 either amplifyinge small accidentes, or detract-
 inge from well deseruinge persons, whiche, for
 their satisfaction, as manie as knowe me will be-
 leeue; and, as for the reste, I desire not to
 knowe them.



*A Letter from the celebrated Mr. CHEEK,
1549, to Mrs. PENELOPE PIE.*

Mrs. PENELOPE,

(For that verie name, wee thinke to be moste
pleasinge to you, as containinge in it selffe ma-
nye sweete comforts and manye good lessons)

THE loue that wee had to youre father,
the truste that he had in us, and the hope
that wee haue of you, with oure desier to conty-
newe that loue, to answere that truste, and to see
the ffeinte of that hope, haue moved vs to leaue
youe thus muche of our meaninge in writinge;
whereof to youe this is the aduantage, more then
of speache, that by readinge youe maie heere it
as oft as youe will, to the ende that youe maie
imprinte it as deep as youe shall haue cause, and
remembre it as longe as it maie doe youe good.
Of your good acceptacion and appliaunce wee
haue soe much truste, as wee haue of your wis-
dome to proffit your selffe. You are to haue in
minde whoes you are; firste, the child of God;
secondlie, the dowghtre of Sir William Pie:
Thirddie, the chardge of your fathers freendes:
Eache of theise respects hath sundry considera-
cions, bothe of comforts and helpes that they mi-
nistre, of dewties that they laie vppon youe, and
of meanes and orders howe to vse theme.

In

In hearinge God speake to youe in his Worde,
knowe, that he speaketh that made youe, that
I 3 seeth

seeth youe, that shall iudge youe, that hathe powre to damme and saue youe ; whose Worde is, to the beleeving and obedient, *the favour of life vnto life* ; but, to the vnbeleeving and disobedient, it is *the favour of death vnto death* ; theirfore heare it humblie with reuerence: Knowe, that he speaketh to youe that loued youe, that chose youe, that adopted youe, that redeemed youe, that preserueth youe dailie, and will saue youe for euer ; therefore heare it with loue and ioifulnes. Knowe, that he speaketh to youe that is perfectlie wise, vnsalliblie true, and vnchaungeable constante ; theirfore heare it with heedfulnes, belieffe, and assuraunce. Knowe, that he speaketh that will haue accompte howe youe harde him ; therefore heare it with care, that youe maie receiue it to fruite. This that youe maie well doe, doe it often and with diligence.

In praier, when youe speake to God, knowe, that youe haue attained the honor to be admitted to the presence and speach of the vnspeakeable Maiestie, infinitelie passinge the hiest Princes ; theirfore praie with humblenes. Knowe, that youe speake to your Father that loueth youe, to him that calleth youe, to him that hathe promised to heare youe, to him that ioieth in hearinge youe ; theirfore praie with loue and confidence: Knowe, that youe speake to him that vnderstandeth the bottome of your harte, and regardeth none but hartie praier ; praie theirfore with a cleane harte, which he seeth ; with a true, vnfained harte, which he vnderstandeth ;
with

with a louing harte, which he embraceth ; with a bolde assured harte, which he encourageth ; and with a hole harte, which he challengeth.

In your conuersation, knowe that it extendeth to God, to your selffe, and to other : To God in the rules of religion ; to yourselffe in the precepts of vertue ; to other in the dewties of obedience, kyndnes, truth, and charitie.

Off religion youe are to keepe theise rules that God, in his owne Worde, hath deliuered, knowinge that none other can please God ; and therein remembre a wise and godlie meaninge of your late naturall father, whose hartelie wished that, without spendinge time in variaunce of questions, the people mighte be diligentlie instructed in twoe thinges : The one, of sufficiencie of salvation by onlie Christe ; the other, the sufficiencie of doctrine in the onlie Worde of God.

Off vertue in your selffe the perfect rule is to obeye the commaundements of God ; for, as the onlie breach of his will is sinn, soe the followinge onlie theirow is vertue ; therefore let that be your generall care to liue accordinge to your callinge, that is, accordinge to his will that called youe in his grace, and accordinge to your owne vowe and promisse that youe professed in your baptisme ; and, for particuler respectes that youe are a woman, remembre that, as iustice and fortitude are the more proper vertues of men, and the greater shame for men to lacke theme ; soe chastitie, shamefastnes, and temperaunce, are the more peculier vertues of

women, and the greater shame for women to offend therein.

Prudence is more comon to bothe; yet, in execution towards other, and in publick exercise, more pertaining to men; but, in gouernance of them selves, and in affaires at home, it is as mutche belonging to women. But in this whole parte of your life that concerneth the rule of your selfe, haue euer before your owne eyes, that youe stande before the eyes of God, his Angells, Saincts, and amongst those alsoe your father; whatsoeuer theirfore youe shall doe, knowe there is noe place secret; and, for the doinge of what soeuer thinge youe will flee the sight of men, remembre yet that God, his Angells, his Saincts, and your father looke vpon youe, and the daie shall come when all Heauen and Hell shall see it. And nowe and then call to minde, that one of the greatest paines in Hell is shame, when secret thoughts shall lie open. And that theirfore Dauid soe ofte praieth to be preserued from confusion and shame, and pronounceth him *blessed whose sinns are hidden*. But, for the hiding of sinns, there is no coveringe but Gods mercie; and the mercie of God, as it is gotten with humble repentaunce and true faith, soe is it losse by desperation, and driuen awaie by presumption.

Off your behaviour towards other, of which all above youe are comprised in the name of *father*, and all equall and inferior to youe in the names of *brother* and *neighbour*, remembre theise three rules: For your superiors, that to theme youe be sutch, as youe wolde your children and inferiors

inferiors to be to youe. For your equalls and inferiors, that in iustice youe doe as youe wolde be done vnto: And in charitie youe keep Christs rule, *To love theme as your selffe*, not forgetting that, in the poore, is imputed the person of Christ himselfe. Nowe, for the respect that youe be the doughter of your late father, theise thinges youe are to remembre: What he was to the consideration of others, and what he was to youe: Hear of your comforts be theise, that he was a noble Gentleman, wyse, of honorable minde, endowed with manie singuler ornaments, dearlie beloved of manie and the best sorte, and to your selffe most naturall and lovinge.

The dewties wherewith these respects doe burden youe are, that youe remembre his noblenes and vertues, and therfore that youe endeavour to be no staine to his worthines, and no blemyshe to your selffe in not approching to licknes of him, whose neernes to you, in nature and truthe, wilbe most iudged by your resemblance of him in vertue and deseruinge; youe are to remembre he was wise; youe must therefore be carefull that youe discredit not his last worke of wysdome in leauinge his worldlie things to youe, as vppon whome they sholde be well bestowéd, and by whome they sholde be well vsed, with refusinge other, whome the ordinarie course of lawe had sett before youe: Youe are to remembre howe dearlie he loued youe; and therefore youe maie not forget his kindenes, but naturallie requite it in followinge his precepts, and in honoring his name with your well doinge, that youe maie euerye waie be trulie said

the dowghter of Sir Willm. Pie, to his praise and good memorie, and not to his disworshipp and infamy.

The meanes for youe to honor your father are, that yourselffe deserue honor by vertue; for, as youe haue succeeded in his place, and therbie after a sorte doe beare his parson, soe the praise or dispraise of your good or ill doinge shall redound to youe bothe. Remembre to whome he leste youe, howe he leste youe, and with what conditions. Yf youe be wiselie governed, youe are a woman of great valewe and largelie advanced; yf not, a poore made and fallen from mutche, which is worse then yf youe had neuer had it. In all your doings, theirfore, and in all aduises, eyther giuen youe by other, or conceived by yourselffe, cast this in your minde, to thinke what your father wolde haue liked, yf he had liued.

Nowe, as towching your fathers freendes and yours, whose chardge youe be by commission; and all his and your other freendes, whose care youe be for loue to him; theise he your comforts; your father was mutch beloued, and theirfore youe haue manye freendes; your father was a loue of true religion, and theirfore youe haue Christian freendes; your father was a true freende, and theirfore youe haue assured freendes; your father was a wise man, and theirfore youe haue well-chosen freendes: Good freendes are great treasures.

Theise respects laie theise dewties vpon youe: That youe open your purposes to theme; that
youe

youe be aduised and ruled by theme, accordinge to your fathers meaninge.

The meane to doe this to your benefitt is to consider that your fathers said freendes are of twoe sorts; some that wishe youe well, and haue care of youe by affection; and th'other that haue alsoe speciall chardge of youe by your fathers commission. Of those that loue youe for your fathers sake the nombre is great; some Honorable, some Worshipfull, some of meaner callinge; and all readie to doe youe good, and gladd to heere well of youe. They are to be vsed as good-will deserueth, as kyndnes requireth, and as consideration of your owne benefit to be taken of their ayde and freendshipp advysethe.

Of those that haue chardge of or for youe by your fathers appointment there are alsoe twoe sorts: The one be those that haue the gouernance of your parson, the regard of your bestowinge, and the administration of the goodes that he hath liberallie leste youe, I meane your fathers executors. The other are those to whome your father hathe in confidence for youe assured his landes, with suche conditions and further limitacions as, in the conveyance thei of in dewe forme of lawe passed, more plainelie maye appeare; whearin your chieff benefit dependeth vpon your owne good gouernance, beinge yett soe restrained by your fathers pollicie for your safetie, that youe haue no choise leste to the frailtie of youre owne minde, but wholie to the staie and aduise of other.

Nowe, towchinge your fathers executors and your governors, that is to be noted, that they be

chosen owt of your fathers deereſt freends. They be knowen moſt honeſt Gentlemen, Chriſtianlie affected for religion, and theirfore, for conſcience, will deale trulie with youe; and above all things will not aſſent to yoke youe with a Papiſt, or other enimie, or parſon ignorant of Chriſtian faith.

They pertaine to Nobilitie in their birthe and place, and theirfore will haue regard their of for youe, and of their owne Worſhipps for themſelves in your beſtowing. They be wiſe, and theirfore youe maie truſt, that they will foreſee to your proſitt. They be lovinge to youe, and of freendlie uſadge; theirfore youe ſhall haue no cauſe to haſten the chaunge of your ſtate, till youe be fullie ſure of a better. They haue great chardge of youe, and mutch importinge their conſcience, and their good fames and reputations; and theirfore will not forgett to thinke of youe in good time, that they maie be diſburdened. Theye be of ſufficient ſtate and honor, theirfore theye nede not to make any marchandiſe or proſſit of youe. Theye be well aſſiſted with ſtronge overſeers and freendes; and theirfore they wilbe carefull to acquite them ſelues with well-doinge, and careles of the powre of anye to contende againſt their good meaninge. Theye be ſowre havinge iointe powre and not ſeuerall, and theirfore be both ſurer for youe againſt corruptions, and ſtronger againſt vnprofitable practiſes.

Towchinge your fathers ſeſſees, ſome be Honorable, ſome be Worſhipfull; all be eſteemed honeſt,

honest, and all be suche as will preciselie followe your fathers meaninge.

Theise be your comforts in theise speciall freendes. Nowe theise be your dewties theirbye: That youe be governed by theme; that youe observe the conditions of your fathers meaninge; that youe soe be ruled, ordered, and bestowed, that youe maie have the proffit, and youe with theme honor, worship, and comforte.

The meane for youe this to doe is, that youe remembre this chardge that is committed of your governaunce, and your great losse, yf youe faile in the said conditions.

Be youe wholie careles of your bestowinge, as a thinge not pertaininge to youe, tyll it be brought youe orderlie; give your selffe onlie to vertuous exercises, that the good fame of your owne person maie giue furtheraunce to your Governors to make your bargaine with the beste, which shalbe if these things concurr to aduance the valewe of youe; your fathers provision of goods and livinge, your owne storinge your selffe with good conditions, your fame therbie to moue the worthiest to desier youe, and your freendes wisdome and diligence to iudge the meetest for youe. Beware that youe soe order your selffe in the principall point; that youe give no impedient to their good provision for your bestowinge. In that they are not onlie your fathers freendes, but alsoe in some sorte, in lawe, they bear your fathers parson, youe must accompt your selffe to them as deare, and theirfore must, to theme, be as obedient as their naturall childe. In that they be Christians, as your father was, and

and no Papists, youe must beware of familiaritie of Papists, men or women. In that they be honest, youe must frame your selffe to the same vertues, and beware of vn honest practises, which youe shall knowe by this marke : Yf they speake or move any thinge to youe, which youe in your conscience shall thinke they wolde not, or durst not, speake or move in the open hearinge of all your Governours together. And lett that be to youe a speciall note ; for souch maie move suche matter as, being harkened vnto, maie by forfeiture vndoe youe ; and, in this pointe, remembre to vse the familiaritie, companie, and attendaunce of suche as the good accompte made of theme maie add to, and not abate from, your owne good estimation. In respect that your Governours be of Worshipfull callinge, as your father was, haue youe a great regard to the like state, and to suche qualities as maie besetne the same ; whereof your father was bothe waies a noble president, bothe for warre and peace, in valiantnes and in learninge, in armour and in bookes, and in the singuler ordre of theme bothe. He, in the speciall expresse wordes of his will, for preferringe bothe librarie and armourie, with other circumstances, wee will not saie, hathe directlie pointed to, but he hath at least, plainlie painted owt the manner of man that he hathe wished, and souch as they accordingly will provide for youe. In that they be wise, remembre youe to take the ffeinte of their wisdom ; what marche soeuer youe shall like of, let them rule the hole ffourme of bargain for your aduancement in livinge, the assuraunce to
youe

your children, and otherwise; which youe shal-
 be able to doe, yf youe keep yourselffe free till
 theye have concluded; or ells not, for he that
 holdeth youe once intangled will discende to noe
 covenants, but as he listeth for himselffe, and
 not as shalbe advised for youe. Besides that,
 vnwiselie youe lose your owne wholie, yf youe
 neglecte their counsell. In that youe knowe
 they wilbe carefull, that theye maie be speedilie
 disburdened, learne youe to leave the care to
 theme, and to sitt quiet and dischargd of care
 to make any haste withowt theme. In that they
 haue no nede of youres, hold youe assured, what-
 soeuer they altogether shall doe for your mari-
 adge, they doe it wholie for youe.

And this onlie for themselves, that they maie
 haue acquittall towards God and your father,
 worship toward the worlde, and comfort to their
 owne consciences by their sincere doinge with
 youe; and theirfore youe must boldlie rest vpon
 theme, and doe nothinge withowt theme.
 In that theye be soe stronglie assisted, youe
 must gather trust that theye be able to defende
 youe, that theye shall not dare to deale corrupt-
 lie, nor feare to doe vprightlie. In that theye be
 fowre, and haue iointe chardge, youe must
 harken to thadvise and consent of all, and learne
 of theme all, whoe nowe be all in one stead of
 your father, what they all shall deliver youe for
 direction, as youre fathers meaninge. In that
 your father hath appointed youe education and
 custodie in one place, you must gather, that soe
 wise and loving a father did not soc for nothing,
 nor made that speciall choise rashlie, or to noe
 purpose

purpose (nor to any other purpose) then bothe for some speciall great good, and some speciall certaine note to youe ; which wee leaue to the workinge of God by his good disposinge of your owne harte, and consente of your said freendes ; and doe wishe youe to praie to God to revele to youe youre fathers intentions, to frame your owne affections, and to applie the agreeinge counsaile of your Governours.

Towchinge your fathers ffeffees, in confidence of the lands prepared for youe, remembre theye be your fathers trustie freendes. Better freendes than your father chose wee thinke youe shall never finde.

Be bolde theirfore to vse and trust theme ; but, withall, remembre their confidence is, in your fathers deedes, bounde to a precise forme of your good governaunce, which if youe breake, theye cannot helpe youe ; and the rather, for that the remainders after youe are suche as will carye favour against youe. Remembre alsoe one speciall thinge, that in defence of the title against suche as maie be greeved with yourc preferment and their owne reiection, and therbie move trouble ; the favour that youe maie winn by your vertues shall give helpe to your righte ; and matters of mislikinge, or vntowardnes, maie bringe youe mutch hinderaunce and perill, and great pitey and furtheraunce to the other side.

Wee will recite no other discomodities and perills, that maie aryse by contrarie advises against your fathers meaninge ; for wee lothe to remembre them, and wee have mutch better hope of youe.

Thus

Thus much wee haue of good-will to pursue towards youe our affection to your father, whose ornament wee hartlie wishe youe to bee. To good purpose, wee trust, this shall succede with your wise takinge and well followinge; whearof wee shall haue our parte of ioye; or at the leaste, yf it fall otherwise, wee shall carrye the discharge of honest and true freendes. And Mr. P. as wee haue begonne, soe shall youe euer finde vs diligent and carefull to foresee and travaile for your proffitt (while youe shall remaine vertuous and worthie of your father) and euer plaine, true, and faithfull to aduise and informe youe; desierous to haue your fathers fame honored in youe; ourselues to carrye comforte to haue bene of the chosen freendes of soe excellent a man as your father, and to see the fruite of our honest aduises in a vertuous and happie Gentlewoman, his doughter. God keepe youe in his loving fear. God guyde youe and blesse youe.

Mr.

Mr. STUBBES his WORDES vpon the
SCAFFOLDE, when he lost his HAUND,
on Tewesdaie, 3 Nouembre, 1579.

WHAT a grieffe it is to the bodie to lose
one of his membres youe all knowe. I
ame come hither to receiue my punishment, ac-
cording to the lawe. I ame sorie for the losse of
my haund, and more sorie to lose it by iudg-
ment; but most of all with her Maiesties indig-
nation and evell opinion, whome I haue soe
highlie displeased. Before I was condempned,
I might speak for my innocencie; but nowe my
mouth is stopped by iudgment, to the which I
submitt myselffe, and ame contente patientlie
to endure whatsoeuer it pleaseth God, of his se-
crette prouidence, to laie vpon me, and take yt
iustlie deserued for my sinnes; and I pray God yt
maie be an example to youe all, that yt beinge soe
daungerous to offend the lawes, without an evell
meaninge, as breedeth the losse of a haund, youe
maie vse your haunds holyllye, and praie to God
for the longe preservation of her Maiestie over
youe, whome God hathe vsed as an instrument
for a longe peace and many blessings over vs;
and speciallie for his Gospell, whearby shee hathe
made a waie for vs to rest and quietnes to our
consciencs. For the French I force not; but
my greatest grieffe is, in soe many weekes and
daies imprisonment, her Maiestie hathe not once
thought me worthie of her mercie, which shee
hath often times extended to diuers parsons in
greater offences. For my haund, I esteeme ye
not

not soe much, for I thinke I colde haue saved
 yt, and might do yet; but I will not haue a
 guiltlesse harte and an infamous haunde. I praie
 youe all to praie with me, that God will streng-
 then me to endure and abide the paine that I
 ame to suffre, and graunt me this grace, that
 the losse of my haunde do not withdrawe any
 parte of my dewtie and affection toward her Ma-
 iestie, and because, when soe many veines of
 bloude are opened, it is vncertaine howe they
 maie be stayed, and what wilbe the event their-
 of. Then, kneeling on his knees, hee said: 'I
 beseeche youe all to praye for me, that it wolde
 please God to forgiue me my sinnes; and I crave
 pardon of all the worlde, and freelie forgiue
 everie one that hath offended me; and soe with
 mercie to deale with me, that, whether I liue or
 die, I may liue or die his seruant.' My Maif-
 ters, if their be any among youe that doe loue
 me, if your loue be not in God and her Ma-
 iestie, I vtterlie denie your loue. The haund
 redie on the block to be striken of, hee said often
 to the people: 'Praye for me, nowe my cala-
 mitie is at hande.' And soe, with these wordes,
 yt was smitten of, whearof he fownded.

Mr.

Mr. PAGE his WORDES on the
SCAFFOLDE.

I AME come hither to receiue the lawe according to my iudgment, and thanke God of all; and of this I take God to witnes, that knoweth the harts of all men, that, as I am sorie I haue offended her Maiestie, so did I never mene harme to her Highnes parson, crowne, or dignitie; but haue bene as trewe a subiect as any was in Englande, to my abilitie, except none; and, holdinge vp his right haund, said: 'This haund did I put to the ploughe, and got my living by yt many yeres. Yf it wolde haue pleased her Highnes to haue pardoned yt, and to have taken my lefte haund, or my life, shee had delte more favourablie with me, for nowe I haue no meanes to live; but God, which is the Father of vs all, will provide for me. I beseeche youe all to praie for me, that I maie take this punishment patientlie.' And so layd his haund vpon the block, and prayed the executioner quicklie to dispatch hime; and soe at ij blowes his haund was smitten of. So, listinge vp the stompe, said to the people, 'I have lefte their a trewe Englishmans haund.' And so went from the scaffold verie stowlie and with great corradge.

*The ORATION of the COMMONS HOUSE,
by the Speaker, Mr. Williams, to the
QUEEN's Majesty. Temp. Elizab.*

THE Commons in this present Parleament assembled, mosste highe and mightie Princes, and our mooste gracious and renowned Sovereigne, as they daylie to their greate commoditie and comforte, doe feele and receave th' inestimable benefits of your mosste gracious government of this your realme in peace and suretie, so do they also mosste thanckfullie acknowledge the same, beseching Allmightie God long to blesse and continewe your mosste prosperous raigne over them. And amongste all theise benefites, whiche they dailie receive of your Highnes, they have at this tyme willed me to recognise vnto your Grace, that they accompt it not the leaste, but rather amonge the greatest of them all, that your Maiestie hathe at this tyme assembled your Parleament, for supplieng and redressing the greatest wants and defaults of your Commonweale, and for establishing the suretye of the same; whiche your Majesties mosste gracious meaning hath bene by your commaundement signified vnto vs by the Right Honorable the Lord Keper of the Great Seale, namelie, in this that he willed vs first to have consideration of the greatest matters, that nearest towched the state of your realme, and the preservation thearof. Seeming thearin also to expresse vnto vs the conformitie of your Maiesties mynde in having principall respect to the matters of greatest weight,
and

and for that purpose assembling this your Parleament. And for as moche as your said subjects see nothing in this whole estate of so great importance to your Maiestie and the whole realme, nor so necessarie at this tyme to be reduced to certentie, as the sure contynuaunce of the governaunce and imperiall Crowne thearof in your Maiesties moste royal person, and the moste honorable issue of your boddie, whiche Almighty God send us to our highest comfort; and for want thearof in some certain limitation to guide the obedience of our posteritie.

And wheare Almighty God, to our great terror and dreadfull warning, hath touched your Highnes with some daunger of your moste noble person by sicknes, from whiche so sone as your Grace was by Gods favour and miracle to vs recovered, your Highnes presentlie caused this Parleament to be sommoned; by force whearof your said subiects, now assembled, are, bothe by necessitie and importance of the matter, and by the convenience of the tyme of calling them, immediatlye vppon your recoverie, in effect inforced to gather and conceave that your Maiestie, of your moste gracious and motherlie care for them and their posteritie, have called this Parleament, principallie for th' establishing of some certain limitation of th' imperiall Crowne of this your realme, for preservation of your subiects from certeine and vtter destruction, if the same shulde not be provided for in your life, which God long continew.

They cannot, I say, but acknowledge, how youre Maiestie hath moste graciouslie considered

the

the great daungers, and th' unspeakeable miseries
 of civil warres, the perillous entermedlings of for-
 eyne Princes, with sedicious, ambitious, and
 rascallous subiects at home, the waste of noble
 howses, the slaughter of people, subversion of
 lawes, intermission of all things pertaininge to
 the maintenaunce of the realme, vnsuretie of all
 mens possessions, lives, and estates, dailie enter-
 chaunging of attainders and treasons. All those
 mischiefes, and infinite other, are mooste likelie
 and evident, if your Maiestie shulde be taken
 from vs without a knowen heire; whiche God
 forbid to fall vppon your subjects, to the vtter de-
 olation of the whole (whearof you have chardge
 vnder God) if good provision be not had in this
 behalf. Your Maiestie hath waied th' examples
 of forraine nacions, as what ensued on the death
 of Alexandre, whan, for want of certeine heires
 by hym begotten or appointed, the varietie of
 titles, the diversitie of dispositions in them that
 had titles, the ambition of them that, vnder co-
 ur of doubtfulnes of titles, forooke all obe-
 dience of titles, destroyed the deuidours of his
 dominions, and wasted all their posterities with
 continuall warres and slaughters. In whate myse-
 rable case also was this youre realme, whan the
 title of the Crowne was brought in question be-
 twene the twoe royall howses of Lancaster and
 Yorke, till your mooste noble progenitours, King
 Henrie the viiith and the Ladie Elisabeth, his wife,
 restored it to setled vnitie and lest the Crowne
 in certayne course of succession? Theise thinges,
 if your Maiestie hath vppon your owne daunger
 mooste graciously considered for oure comfort and
 safetie,

safetie, so wee, your moste humble subiects
 knowinge the preservacion of our selves and our
 posterities to depend vpon the suretie of your
 Maiesties moste Roiall person, haue likewise
 moste carefullie and diligentlie considered how
 the want of heires of your bodie, and of certein
 limitation of succession after you, is moste peril-
 lous vnto your Highnes, whome God long pre-
 serue among vs. We haue bene admonished of
 the great malice of your forreine enemyes
 whiche, even in your life tyme, haue sought to
 transferr the dignitie and righte of your Crowne
 to a straunger; we haue noted their dailie moste
 daungerous practises against your life and your
 raigne; we haue hearde of some subiects of the
 land moste vnnaturallie confedered with your
 enemyes to attempt the destruction of your Ma-
 iestie and vs all that live by youe. We feare
 the faction of heretikes within your realme, malici-
 cious Papists, least they, moste vnnaturallie
 gainste their contrey, vnwiselie against their
 owne safetie, and moste traiterouslie against your
 Highnes, not onlie hope for the wofull daye of
 your death, but also lye in waite to aduaunce
 some title, vnder whiche they maye renewe the
 late vnspeakable creweltie, to the destruction of
 the goods, possessions, and bodies, and thra-
 dome of the sowles and consciences of your faith-
 full and Christian subiects; wee see nothing to re-
 sist their desyre, but your onlie life. Their
 vnkindnes and creweltie we haue tasted; we
 feare moche to what attempte the hope of suc-
 oportunitie (nothing withstanding them, but your
 onlie life) will move them; we finde how ne-
 cessary

cessarie it is, for your preservation, that there
 be more sett and knowen betwene your Ma-
 jesties life and their desyre: We see, on th'other
 side, how there can be no suche daunger to
 your Maiestie by th'ambicion of anie aparant
 heire, established by your advauncement, for
 want of issue of your Maiesties Roiall bodie, as
 you are now subiecte vnto, by reason of the de-
 sire and hope we know not of, how manie that
 pretend titles and trust to succede you; whose
 secreatt greedines we so moche more feare, be-
 cause neither their nombre, force, nor likeli-
 hode of disposicion is knowen vnto vs, and so
 we can the lesse beware of them for your preser-
 uacion. We fynde also, by good prooffe, that
 the certeine limitacion of the Crowne of Fraunce
 hath procured so great quyet, as neither the
 person of the Prince in possessing hath bene en-
 dangered by secreatt or open practises, neither
 the Commonwealth molested by civill dissention,
 though anie quarrell attempted for the title of
 the Crowne.

And, somewhat nearer home, we may also re-
 member the miserable estate whearein Scotland
 boode after the death of King Alexander with-
 out a certeine limitacion to whome the Crowne
 of Scotland shulde remaine, by reason whearof
 the whole estate of that realme was lefte open to
 the ambition of manie Competitors, and mooste
 deuous desolacion and spoile, that grew vppon
 the devison, as in the Cronicles of the vic-
 tie of your mooste famous progenitour, King
 Edward the Third, more plainelie appeareth.
 which miserie gaue occasion afterwarde to King

James the Fiste to limit the Crowne of Scotland to certain noble families of that realme; whearby they at this present enioye that quyetnes and suretie whiche we do want. And all your Maiesties most noble progenitours, Kings of this realme, haue in this behalf bene so carefull, that from the Conquest till this present day, this realme was never leste, as it now is, without a certaine heire living and knowen, to whome the Crowne (after the death of the Prince) shulde appertaine. So, as your Maiestie, of your singular care for vs and our posterities, hath at this tyme assembled vs for establisment of this great and onlie staye of our sureties, we againe moste gracious Soveraigne Ladie, acknowledge our selues, and all that we haue, to depend vpon your preservacion, and, being, according to our bounden dutie, moste carefull for the same, we in moste humble manner come to your Maiestie presence. And I, the mowthe appointed for your naturall and loving subiects, togeather with and in the name of them all, do present vnto your Highnes our moste lowlie sute and humble petition, That, forasmoche as of your Maiestie person shulde come the moste vndoubted and best heires of your Crowne, suche as in tyme to come we wolde moste comfortablie see, and our posteritie shulde moste ioyfullye obaye: It may please your moste excellent Maiestie, for our sake for oure preservacion and comfortes, and at our moost humble sute, to take to yourselve some honorable husband, whome it may please you to ioine to you in mariage, whome so ever he be that your Maiestie shall chuse: We protest and

promer

promes, with all humilitie and reverence, to honor, love, and serve, as to our bounden dutie shall appertaine; and by the statute whiche your moste Noble father assented vnto, of his mooste princelye and fatherlie zeale to his mooste lovinge subiects, for the limitation of succession of th'emperiall Crowne of this realme, your Maiestie is the laste exprestlie named within the bodie of the same acte: And for that your subiects cannot judge, nor do knowe anye thinge of the forme or validitie of anie further limitation sett in certaintie for want of heires of your bodie, whearbie some great dangerous dowte remaineth in their hartes, to their great greife, perill, and vniquietnes: It may please your Maiestie, by publication of certaintie all readie provided, if anie suche be, or ells by limitation of some certaintie, if none be, to provyde mooste gracious remedie in this great necessitie, whiche, by your mooste honorable and motherlie carefulnes for them, hath occasioned this assemblye, that, in this convenient tyme of Parleament, vpon your late daunger, mooste graciouslye called for that cause. Your Grace may now extend vnto vs that greatest benefite, whiche otherwise, or at other tymes perhapps, shall never be able to be done agayne. So, not onlye we, but all ours, hereafter and for ever, shall owe no lesse to your Maiesties propagation of succession, then we doe alreadye owe to your mooste famous graundfather, King Henrie the viith, for his vnitinge of division; and your subiects on their behalfe, for your Maiesties further assurance, whearvpon their own preservacion wholye dependeth, shall employ

their whole endeavours, witts, and power, to receive, devise, and establishe the most strong and beneficiall actes and lawes for preservacion and suretie of your Maiestie, and your issue, in the Imperiall Crowne of this realme; and the moste penall, sharppe, and terrible statutes and lawes to all that shall but once practise, attempt, or conceive anie evill againste your Maiestie, that by anie possible meanes they may invent and establishe, withe suche limitacions of condicions and restraints to all in remainders, suche grevous paines and sorrow, to all that shall enterprise or imagine anie thinge in preiudice of your Highnes and your issue, as your Maiestie shall not haue anye cause of suspicion, but moste assured grownde and confidence in all your faithfull subjects continuallie watching and warding for your preservacion, whiche God long continewe! that you may see your childrens children, to his honour and our comforte; and encline your moste gracious harte to our moste humble petition.

The

The QUEENES Majesties AUNSWERE
to the SPEAKER.

WILLIAMS,

I HAVE heard by you the common request of my Commons, whiche I may well tearme, as me thinks, the whole realme; because theire geve, as I haue herd, in all these matters of Parleament, their common consent to suche as be heare assembled. The weight and greatnes of this matter might cause in me, as I must confesse, being a woman, wanting bothe witt and memorie, some feare to speake, and bashfulness besides, a thing appropriate to my sexe. But yet the princelie state and kinglie rone (wherein God, though vnworthie, hath constitute me) maketh theise twoe causes to seme litle in myne eyes, though grevous perhapps to your eares, and boldeneth me (that notwithstanding) to say somewhat in this matter, whiche I meane onlie to towche, but not presentlie to aunswere; for this so great a demaund nedeth bothe great and grave advise. I read of a Philosopher, whose deeds vpon this occasion I remember better then his name; whoe alwaies, when he was requyred to geve aunswere in any hard question of schol points, wolde rehearse over his alphebete, before he wolde proceade to any furtheraunswere thereon, not for that he could not presentlie haue answered, but to haue his witt the ryper, and better sharpened to aunswere the matter with all. If he a private man, but in matters of scole, toke

suche delaye, the better to shewe his eloquence, great cause may iustlie move me, in this so great a matter touching the benefitt of this realme, and the safetie of you all, to deferr mye aunswere till some other tyme; whearin, I assure you, the consideration of myne owne safetie, although I thank you for the great care that you seme to haue thearof, shalbe litle, in comparyson of that great regarde that I meane to haue of the safetie and suretie of you all. And though God of late seemed to touche me rather like one that he chastised, then one that he punished; and though death possessed almoste everie ioynte of me, so as I wished then, that the feeble threede of lyfe, whiche lasted me thought all to longe, might, by Clotoes hand, haue quicklye bene cut of: yet desired not I lyfe then (as I haue some witnes heare) so moche for myne owne safetie as for yours; for I knew that, in exchange of this reigne, I shulde haue enioyed a better reigne, wheare residence is perpetuall. There are needs no boding of my bane. I know as well now as I did before, that I am mortall; I know also, that I must seke to dischardge my self of that great burden that God hath heare laide vppon me; for of them *whome moche is committed moche is requyred*. Thynk not that I, that in other matters haue had convenient care of you all, will in this matter, toching the safetie of my selfe and you all, be careles; for know, that this matter toucheth me moche nearer then it doth you all, whoe, if the worst hapen, can lose but your bodies; but I, I take not that convenient care that it behoveth me to haue thearin, I hazard to lose bothe bodies

and soule; and thoughe I am determind, in this so great and waightie a matter, to deferr my aunswere till some other tyme, because I will not, in so deepe a matter, wade with so shallowe a witt: Yet haue I thought good to vse theise fewe wordes, aswell to shew you, that I am neither careles, nor vnmindefull of your safeties in this case (as I truste you likewise do not forgeatt, that by me you weare deliuered, while you weare yet hanging on the boughe, readdie to fall into the modde, yea, to be drowned in the doinge; neither yet the promes whiche you haue now made me concerninge youre dueties and due obedience, whearwith I maye and meane to chardge you, as further to lett you vnderstand, that I neither mislyke of your request hearein, nor of that great care thar you seeme to haue of your owne safeties in this matter. Lastelye, because I will dischardge some restles headds, in whose braynes the nedeles hammers beat with vaine iudgement, that I shulde mislyke this theire petition, I say that, of the matter, some thearof I like and allow verie well; as to the circumstances, if anye be, I meane, vppon further aduice, further to aunswere. And so I assure you all, that thoughe, after my death, you may haue many stepdames, yet shall you never haue anye a more naturall mother then I meane to be vnto you all.

Mr. STUBBES to Q. ELIZAETH,
during his Imprisonment for writing a
LIBEL on her intended MARRIAGE *.

YF my lotte, most dread and gracious Soue-
raigne, when it was at the beste, was yet
so lowe, as I neuer was worthe one least looke
of your Maiesties eyes; howe shoulde I, nowe
that I am in bodellie bondes, and, which is the
great captiuitie of myne afflicted minde, in this
highe indignation of your Maiestie, be yet so
hardie to craue that patience of your Royall eares,
as to haue my humble wordes harkened vnto?
Surely even this emboldeneth my panting harte,
that, as the King of Kinges, the Lord of heauen
and earthe, dothe take to his singuler recommen-
dacion, and redelye heareth burdened mindes owt
of their deepest dongeons; th'effect of which his
promisses I haue, by his mercie, felt in this time
of myne humbling; even so that Princes, which
are his visible Maiestie among men, to endeauour
to resemble the L. of Lordes, not onlie in chief-
fest authoritie and soueraigne commanding, but
chieffie in that which he saith is *ouer all his
workes*, that is, *mercie and forgiuenes*; whear-
vnto comes, as an addition of sustaining me in
this hartning, that my Prince is a Christian La-
die, whose naturall inclination to pittie religion
hath also taughte to haue compassion, whearof I
haue seen many experiences, to the great name

* Vide the Proclamation for discovering the Authors
hereof, in the former part of this volume.

of her clemencie, and no small support of my troubled minde; and as those praiers, which haue any promise of hearing from God, must be qualified with a sorowfull acknowledgment of the synnes wee haue committed, and of his gracious pardon to be bestowed on vs vnderferuedlie; even soe ame I the boulder to offer this supplicatory submission and petition into your Maiesties handes, because it is the verye true and vnfained witnessing of my prostrate harte, laden with grieff to haue, by this acte, incurred your Princelie displeasure, and to haue disquyeted or troubled your gracious harte, whearvnto I haue and ever shall contynewallye wishe all happie and constant contentation; and ame the sorowfullest man in the worlde, that one minute of the contrarye sholde fall owt, and that by me most vnhappie man, in that respect; who, if I had supposed this thinge wolde haue reached soe highelie, either in offence or disquiet to the minde of my naturall Queene, or in soe haynous breeche of the lawes for your Maiesties peace, I wolde most willingly haue redeemed the paine for one hand with bothe handes; and rather to haue had no lyfe, then to fall in my Princes thoughte for a suspect subiect of dowbtfull loyaltie, or to be recorded in soe highe a Court of this lande for a miserable turbulent wretche, seekinge to interrupt her peace, and that State by whome I stande, and cannot by anye other chaunge be chaunged, but from worse to worse. Submitting myselffe, therefore, in all truthe and humblenes of harte vpon my knees, to the highe censure of your royall wisdom, and to that iudgment which is

giuen againſt me by lawe, as towching my ownt-ward fact, and euerie circumſtaunce theirol, I craue, by your moſt gracious favour, pardon to ſaie theſe fewe wordes for myſelffe, the contrary whearof I cannot ſaie, though it wear to ſaue my head; that is, that my poore harte never conceived malicious thought, or wicked purpoſe, againſt your Maieſties perſon or ſtate; but ioyed and reioyſed in your life, helth, honor, and peace; iudging the contrarye to be the greateſt calamitie earthlie that colde befall either to this Comonweale, or my priuate eſtate, which, as trulie as I ſpeak, and according to my thought, I pray him that is the revealer of ſecrett thoughts, and who hath the Princes hart in his hande, to worke even that perſwation which is according to the ſimple and ſincere truthe of that I write; whearvpon, if theire might enſue firſt and principallie ſome better conceiving, or at leaſt not ſo evell opinion, of my ſingle-harted allegeaunce; and, ſecondarelie, ſome mittigation of your great indignacion; I wolde reckon but as in the third place, and for an acceſſarye benefitt, the pardon of my hande. The whiche, vnleſſe yt^e maie like your gracious Maieſtie, of your free mercie and accouſtomed pittie, to giue me againe, theire is nothing in me alredie to move youe, neither can I promiſſe any newe and worthy recompence of ſervice dewe for ſo great a grace; for, alaffe! What can my poore hande performe? And whatſoeuer my harte can wiſhe your Maieſtie hath heartofore deſerued whollie by greater be^enefits vnder your governement; this then can be the onlie uſe of it, even to bear yt abowt with me,
while

while I liue, for an euident gage of your prince-
like, ladylike, Christian, free mercie towards
me, provoking other, as yt wear, by the liuelie
speaking theirow, to deserue well of her by well-
doinge, who is so reddie to doe well without de-
sert, and to be gratiouſlie mercifull to ſoe gre-
uous an offendour. The Lorde God cut of
bothe their handes, and ſhorten their armes,
who doe not, with all their hart, praie for your
everlaſtinge lyfe in heauen, after your godlie,
longe, happie, honorable, helthfull, and ioyfull
lyfe here on earth. Amen.

STUBBES.



To the QUEENE's MAIESTIES Most
Honorable PRIVIE COUNSELL.

IN all humble and piteous wise besecheth
your Honors Iohn Stubbes, nowe a double
close prisoner, first, by her Maiesties highe dis-
pleasure; and then by reason of a fore wounded
and feeble bodie,; that, for so much as the same
Iohn Stubbes hath no longer his one hande to
declare his owne grevous plighte, he maie haue
your honorable patience to heare these gronings of
his greeued harte; as also that, by your Honors
godlie and pitifull meanes, they maie be made
knowne to her Maiestie. This wounde of my
bodie, Right Honorable, though it be great,
yet it is but a wounde of the bodie; but the con-
tinewaunce of her Maiesties highe indignation
perceth deeper, and inwardlie woundeth the
minde, in suche sorte as it worketh backe againe
on my bodie, and affecteth my owtward wounde;
and, because the laying fourth of my afflicted
estate were not inoughe to moue compassion, vn-
les also my hart stood eurie waie so disposed as
became me, this I craue further, with your
Honors leaue, that I maie speake frome an vn-
fained harte, which is, that it hartelie greeveth
me to haue greeued or offended her Maiestie, or
to haue broken any of her lawes; and that, not so
much for the punishment fallen vpon me, as that
I am most loth to be the cause of any trouble
to her Maiestie and the State, whose peace and
p^{ro}peritie I must of conscience praye for and pro-

c-re.

cure. And for the owtward fact, whearin myne offence consisteth, I humblie submitt myselffe to the highe censure of her Royall Maiestie, and the graue wisdomes of her Honorable Counsellours; and, ~~as~~ the iudgment passed by lawe against me dothe stopp my mouth to saie contrary theirvnto, soe I besech the Lorde, that my hart maie never murmur or repine against it, in any secrett thoughte. What my owtward behaviour was at the barr, and on the scaffolde, I referr to the reporte of them that harde and sawe; as towching my harte, God knowes howe, in bothe places, my chief care was to comitt nothing contrary to the dewtie of a true Christian man, or a faithfull subiect to our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, either in myne owne person, or by example to others; your honorable inclination of Christian pittie towards the discomforted and greeued wilbe as much moued by these fewe broken speatches, as if my sadd hart laye sighing, and my handles stompe laye bleeding before youe; resting myselffe theirfore vpon the same, I humblie recommend my sorrowfull harte, my painfull bodie, and my whole estate, afflicted as it is, first to God, and then to her Maiestie; whome if it maie please, of her accustomed grace, by your honorable mediation, to release me of this streight restraints, I hope she shall saue that life, whiche shall alwaies owe itselffe to her Maiesties service, as their where it is dewe. The Lord contynewe your Honors happie estate vnder her Maiesties longe, peaceable, and honorable reigne. Amen.

The

The selfe-same pitifull and humble sute, which I haue presented to your Lordship alreddie, together with the rest of her Maiesties Privie Counsaile, by generall lettres of supplication, I ame boulded to recommend alsoe a parte to your honorable compassion by these fewe petitionarye lynes, whearvnto, me thinks, I ame moved by some good reason, vnder your Lordships favour, and this it is; that, even as the Lorde God directed the first examining of me to your Lordship, so I hope it will please hime, by the same, to giue me a good issewe of my troubles; and as, before the matter founde owte, he then gaue you the deligent endeavour of a vigilant Magistrate to examine and resiste, by timelie foresighte, any thinge that might fall owt perilous to this Common-welthe, whearof you haue not the least chardge, as well in Counsaile of the State as for administracion of Justice; even soe, now that the matter is nakedlie revealed, and the worste theirow fallen vpon myselfe, withowt any other disturbaunce to her Maiesties comon peace, whearof I thanke God more then for my lyfe; I hope verelye, and that with mutche comforte, to finde in your Lordship that noble disposition which delighteth in procuringe mercie, and that Christian pittie which taketh pleasure in comfortinge oppressed hartes. I cannot tell howe to move your Honor hearvnto by any reason drawen from myne owne person, vnles the Lorde onlie doe worke it; ffor, if I sholde alledge my humble behauiour before the Iudgment-seat, it was no more then the reverence of that place teacheth any man of comon honestie. Yf I sholde remember

remember my dewtifull suffering the punishment, in so mutche as in my bitterest extremitie, and imediatlie after my haund cutt of, even vpon the place, the Lorde gave me grace to speake these wordes from an vnfayned harte, ' God saue the Queen ! ' yet was all this no more then every man sholde doe which maketh conscience to giue none evell example to others of the lest repining thought against Gods sacred Magistrate, or dewe execution of iustice. If I sholde reckon vp my long imprisonment, my painfull wounde, my weke wretched bodie, my want of abilitie to bere these exceeding extraordinarie expences, and the present shipwrack of my poore estate ; all these are but the sowre fruites growing by my owne offence, whearof I haue not had a light taste of pallatte, but digested theme into every veine of my harte ; somthinge yt maie speake for me, that my poore wife and a little childe, ij syllie innocents in mine offence, haue yet their great parte in all these myne aduersities. But this is the some of all I can saie for pittie, that the losse of my hande dothe not more wounde my bodie, then yt peerceth my minde soe highelie to haue offended and grieved her Maiestie, vnto whome I ame soe mutch bounde in bodie and fowle. And, further, it is myne exceeding sorrowe to haue transgressed her Maiesties lawes, which I haue euer loued for the wisdome that is in theme, and honored for the necessitie that is of theme. Finallie, most vnhappie doe I esteeme myselffe in doing any thinge that might haue troubled the long peace of her Maiesties State, whiche hathe nourished me in my youthe, and

whearin I desier to waxe olde, and after which I neither wishe to live, nor feare to die. Yf, in all these lamentable respects, yt maie please her Maiestie to graunte mercie to me, and your good Lordship haste yt for me, soe as my minde maie be released of the grevous bondes of her hevie displeasure, and my bodie freed, vnder suche condition as shall seeme good, from this vncomfortable and chardgeable imprisonement, your Lordship maie soe be a mean to save the languishing lyfe of him who, if he can doe nothing ells, yet shall he live to praie for and reioice in her Maiesties longe life and happie raigne over vs: and to your Lordship he shalbe singulerlie bounde to wishe, besides the increase of earthlie honor, the effectuall accomplishment of those promisses, whiche our mercifull God maketh to theme, and theire many generations, which are *pitifull and loue mercie*: To the which Lord God I hartelie comend her Maiesties Royall estate over vs, and your honorable contynewaunce vnder her fauour.

YOUR LORDSHIPS

The howse which is
my prisson, the 3 of
December, 1579.

Humble suiter in bondes.



LORDS

LORDS of SCOTLAND to certen
SCOTS opposing the KING in
his MINORITY.

Temp. EDWARD the vj.

ALBEIT wee might lay fourth before your eyes perticulerlie Lowe evell youe haue deserued of the Comon-welth of this our natiue contrie, whearin wee were borne, in that ye haue bene the verie instruments and occasion bothe of your owne trouble and punishment, and also of the great calamitie that our hole contrie and poure people haue had, and dailie doe sustaine, throughe this vnnaturall warr and evell discorde; yet, not meaninge to irritate youe by repeticion of things vnpleasaunt, which, to our grieve, are over many, and whearof, wee doubt not, your owne consciences doe accuse youe; but rather intending, by givinge youe this wholesome admonicion, to discharge vs, first to God, and next before the worlde, that wee haue sought youe to be wonne where through, in case be, your owne obstinate wilfulnes cast the vttermost of the plague and punishment vpon youe, yt maie rightlie be adiudged to be in your owne default. This consideracion hathe moued vs, by this Lettre, to require youe to consider with yourselves in comon, and euerie one in perticuler, the ground and circumstance of the cause and quarell that youe pretende; your owne present

sent condicion; with whome it is that youe contende; and what, probablye, must be the end of all. The ground is touching the deprivation of the Kinge, our Soueraigne L. from his Crowne and Royall authoritie, dyuers times intended by some of youe, and yet, by Gods Prouidence, alwaies disappointed. For the cause amonge youe are men that wear as earnest to promote yt as any wear, and by the same dyuerse of youe acquiered honor, good reporte, and benefice: But, since youe reiected his Highnes obedience, you haue found your reward reproch, oblique, and skayth; and your intentes oftentimes frustrate. As to your oppression of that towne whear the seat of Justice sholde remaine for the weale of those subiects, youe haue not onlie impoverished th'inhabitance of the towne, but haue made yourselues contemptible to this hole nation. And nowe youe haue to laye your compte, whether the ffewe nombre of youe remaininge shall conquest and overthrowe vs all; or if, by likelihood, wee be not more able to make youe conformable: Your contention is for displacing of the Kinge, our Soueraigne Lorde; some of youe beinge the chiefe instruments of his promotion, and the greatest parte of youe all havinge promised and sworne obedience to hime.

He is, ye see, the rising sonn, and shortlie will be able, God willing, to discern this quarrell himeselfe by course of age; and then must he either be obayed, and peace and iustice restored in this Comon-welthe; or ells the force of youe compasinge that towne and castle must vnder himewhose subiects wee proue ourselues to be
and

and, consequentlie, exterminate vs and our posteritie. What ground youe builde on in your enterprice, or what certaintie youe can looke for by the cource youe are in, let euerie one of youe consider by yourselffe, and looke vpon the inconveniences of this warr, yf it shall contynewe, and of the fruits that peace and iustice wolde bringe. Call also to your remembraunce the desolation that hath bene in other regions of Europ next vnto vs, and of late yeares through warrs aswell forreine as intestine; and yet are the same at this daie for the most parte quyeted, and peace restored, either by victorie, or the weakest hath yeelded to intollerable condicions. Take heed that youe maintaine that cause by your proper force, or not; or what abilitie youe haue to contende in yt, yf the Kinges house and municion wear not at your deuocion. To be short, this realme maie no longer sustaine this contempt, rebelled and confused state! But either must the Kinge, our Soueraigne Lord, and his authoritie be obeyed; that towne of Edendrough sett at libertie, and the seat of Iustice restored: or ells must wee giue our liues, and emploie our substaunce and friends in the quarrell. And, as wee haue orderlie proceeded heretofore by lawe against youe, so, before the iust execution theirow, which wee maie not nor cannot leaue vndone, wee haue thought good to giue youe this admonicion, that youe maie eschewe in time the inconvenient perell and daunger approachinge; which aduise if youe ffollowe, then will wee trauaile soe farr as in vs shall lie for your relief and safetie. And, if our admonicion
be

be reiected, then wee protest that, as youe yourselves haue bene and are the occasion of all the evell and extremitie that hath followed your obstinacie and contempt, soe, whatsoeuer harme or inconvenience happen to anye of vs, in prosecution of this iust cause, that our bloodes and skaythe shalbe required at th'ands of your posterities.



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Sir John Haryngton to Mr. Roberte
Markham, 1606.

My goode Cofin,

HErewith you will have my Journale wyth
our Historie, duringe our marche against
the Iryshe Rebells *. I did not intend any eyes
shoud have seen thys discourse, but my own
childerns; yet, alas! it happened otherwyse;
for the Queen did so aske and, I may saye, de-
mande my accounte, that I coude not withholde
shewing it; and I, even now, almoste tremble
to rehearse hir Highnesse displeasure hereat. She
swore, by Gods Son, we were all idle knaves, and
the Lord Deputy worse, for wasting our tyme
and hir commandes in suche wyse as my Iournale
dothe write of. I coude haue tolde hir High-
nesse of suche difficulties, straites, and annoy-
ance, as did not appear therein to her eyes, nor,
I founde, coude not be broughte to her eare;
for her choler did outrun all reasone, tho I did
meete it at a second hande. For what shewe she
gaue at firste to my Lorde Deputy, at his re-
turn, was farr more grieuous, as wyll appeare in
goode tyme. I marvell to thynke what strange
humors do conspire to patch up the natures of
some myndes. The elements do seem to strive
which shall conquer and rise above the other.
In good soothe, our late Queen did enfolde them
all together. I blesse her memorye, for all hir
goodnesse to me and my familie; and now wyll
I shewe

* See page 155 of this Volume.

I shewe you what strange temperament she did sometye put forth. Hir mynde was oftime like the gentle aire that comethe from the westerly pointe in a summers morn; twas sweete and refreshinge to all arounde her. Her speech did winne all affections, and hir subjectes did trye to shewe all love to hir commandes; for she woude saye hir state did require her to commande what she knew, hir people woude willingly do from their owne love to hir. Herein did she shewe hir wysdome fullie; for, Who did chuse to lose hir confidence; or, Who woude wythholde a shewe of love and obedience, when their Souereign said it was their own choice, and not hir compulsion? Surely she did plaie well hir tables to gain obedience thus wythout constraint; again, she coude pute forth the suche alteracions, when obedience was lackinge, as leste no doubtynges whose daughter she was. I saie thys was plain on the Lorde Deputys cominge home, when I did come into hir presence; she chaffed muche, walkede fastly to and fro, looked withe discomposure in her visage; and, I remember, she caught my girdle when I kneeled to her, and swore, ‘ By Gods Son, I am no Queen, that MAN is above me;—Who gave him commande to come here so soon? I did sende hym on other busynesse.’ It was longe before more gracious discourse did fall to my hearynge; but I was then put oute of my trouble, and bid go home. I did not stay to be bidden twise; if all the Iryshe rebles had been at my heeles, I shoude not have had better speede. for I did now flee from one whom I both lovede
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and fearede too. Hir Highnesse was wont to soothe hir rufflede temper wyth readinge every mornynge, when she had been stirred to passion at the Council, or other matters had overthrowne hir gracious disposition. She did much admire Seneca's wholesome advysinges, when the soules quiet was flown awaie; and I saw much of hir translating thereof. By art and nature together so blended, it was difficulte to fynde hir right humour at any tyme. Hir wisest men and beste Counsellors were oft sore troublede to knowe hir wyll in matters of State: So covertly did she pass hir iudgmente, as seemede to leave all to their discreet management; and, when the busynesse did turn to better advantage, she did moste cunningly commit the good issue to hir own honor and understandinge; but, when ought fell oute contrarie to hir wyll and intente, the Council were in great straite to defende their owne akinge and not blemyshe the Queens goode iudgmente. Herein hir wyse men did oft lacke more wysdome; and the Lorde Treasurer woude ofte shed a plenty of tears on any miscarriage, well knowynge the difficulte parte was, not so muche to mende the matter itselfe, as his Mistresse's humor; and yet he did moste share hir favour and good wyll; and to his opinion she woude oft-tymes submit hir owne pleasure in great matters. She did keepe him till late at nyghte in discoursinge alone, and then call oute another at his departure, and try the depthe of all arounde hir sometime. Walsingham had his turn, and each displaied their witte in pryvate. On the morrowe, everye one did come forth in hir presence

sence and discourse at large; and, if any had dissembled with her, or stood not well to her advysinges before, she did not let it go unheeded, and sometymes not unpunishede. Sir Christopher Hatton was wont to saye the Queene did fishe for mens souls, and had so sweet a baite, that no one coude escape hir network. In trueth, I am sure hir speeche was such, as none coude refuse to take delyghte in, when frowardnes did not stand in the way. I have seen her smile, soothe with great semblance of good likinge, to all arounde, and cause everie one to open his moste inwarde thought to her; when, on a sudden, she woud ponder in pryvate on what had passed, write down all their opinions, draw them out as occasion required, and sometyme disprove to their faces what had been deliuered a month before. Hence she knew every ones parte, and by thus fishing, as Hatton sayed, she caught many poor fish, who little knew what snare was laid for them. I will now tell you more of hir Majestys discretion and wonder-working to those about her, touchynge their myndes and opinions. She did oft aske the Ladies arounde hir chamber, If they loved to thinke of marriage? And the wise ones did conceal well their liking hereto, as knowing the Queenes judgment in this matter. Sir Mathew Arundels fair co-fin, not knowing so deeply as hir fellowes, was asked one day hereof, and simply said she had thought much about marriage, if her father did consente to the man she loved. You seem honeste, I'faihe, said the Queen; I will sue for you to your father.—The damsel was not displeased

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displeased hereat; and, when Sir Roberte came to Cowrte, the Queene askede him hereon, and pressede his consentinge, if the match was discreet. Sir Roberte, muche astonied at this news, said he never heard his daughter had likinge to any man, and wanted to gain knowledge of hir affection; but woude give free consente to what was moste pleasinge to hir Highnesse wyll and advyse. Then I wyll do the reste, saith the Queene.. The Ladie was called in, and the Queene tould her her father had given his free consente. Then, replied the Ladie, I shall be happie, and please your Grace. So thou shalte, but not to be a foole and marrye. I haue his consente given to me, and I vow thou shalte never get it into thy possession. So go to thy busynesse. "I see thou art a bolde one to owne thy foolishnesse so readilye." I coude relate manye pleasante tales of hir Majesties outwittinge the wittiest ones, for few knew how to aim their shaft against hir cunninge. We did all love hir, for she said she loved us, and muche wysdome she shewed in thys matter. She did well temper herself towards all at home, and put at variance those abroad; by which means she had more quiet than hir neighbours. I need not praise her frugality; but I wyll tell a storie that fell oute when I was a boye: She did love riche cloathynge, but often chid those that bought more finery than became their state. It happenede, that Ladie M. Howarde was possesede of a rich border powderd wyth golde and pearle, and a velvet suite belonging thereto, which moved

manie to envye; nor did it please the Queene,
 who thoughte it exceeded her owne. One daye
 the Queene did sende privately, and got the La-
 dies rich vesture, which she put on herself, and
 came forth the chamber amonge the Ladies;
 the kirtle and border was far too shorte for her
 Majesties heigth; and she askede every one,
 How they likede her new-fancied suit? At
 length, she asked the owner herself, If it was
 not made too short and ill-becoming?—Which
 the poor Ladie did presentlie consente to. ‘Why
 then, if it become not me, as being too short,
 I am minded it shall never become thee, as be-
 ing too fine; so it fitteth neither well.’ This
 sharp rebuke abashed the Ladie, and she never
 adorned her herewith any more. I believe the
 vestment was laid up till after the Queenes death.
 As I did bear so much love towarde hir Majestie,
 I know not well how to stop my tales of hir vir-
 tues, and sometimes hir faults, for ‘nemo na-
 scitur sine——,’ saith the poet: but even
 her errors did seem great marks of surprising en-
 dowments: When she smiled, it was a pure
 sun-shine, that every one did chuse to bask in,
 if they coud; but anon came a storm from a
 sudden gathering of clouds, and the thunder fell
 in wondrous manner on all alike. I never did
 fynde greater shew of understandinge and lern-
 inge, than she was bleste wyth; and whoever
 liveth longer than I can will look backe and be-
 come *Laudator temporis acti*. Yet too will I
 praise the present tymes, or I shoud be unmin-
 dfull of many favours receivede from manie
 handes. Nowe will I trye to stop, and give
 your

your patience a breathing-time from my Historie; but the subject of the Letter wyll excuse my tedious reciting. I write from wonder and affection. I have nowe passed my storms, and wishe for a quiet harbour to laye up my bärk, for I grow olde and infirme. I see few friendes, and hope I have no enemies. So nowe adeiu, good cosin, and read my tale which I penned of our marches, ambuscades, culverins, and such-like matters; which if it give you no more pleasure in the readyng, than it did me in the enduring, I muste thinke it a sorry tale trulye.

I reſte your lovyng cosin,

J. HARYNGTON.

Send me Petrarche by my man, at his retorne.



A SPECIMEN of the MODE of Electing MEMBERS for PARLIAMENT in the last Century. Taken from a Memorandum MSS. of J. HARINGTON, Esq; of Kelfton, in Somersetshire. Dated 1646.

*A NOTE of my B A T H E BUSINESSE
aboute the PARLIAMENT.*

S Aturday, December 26th, 1646, went to Bathe, and dined withe the Maior and Citizens; conferred about my election to serve in Parliament, as my father was helpless and ill able to go any more;—went to the George Inn at night, met the Bailifs, and desired to be dismissed from the serving; drank strong beer and metheglin; expended about iij s. went home late, but could not get excused, as they entertained a good opinion of my father.

Monday, Dec. 28th, went to Bathe; met Sir Iohn Horner; we were chosen by the Citizens to serve for the City. The Maior and Citizens conferred about Parliament business. The Maior promised *Sir John Horner and myself a horse apeice*, when we went to London to the Parliament, which we accepted of; and we talked about the Synod and ecclesiastical dismissions. I am to go again on Thursday, and meet the Citizens about all such matters, and take advice thereon.

Thursday, 31, went to Bathe; Mr. Ashe preached.

preached. Dined at the George Inn with the Maior and Bailiffs and 4 Citizens ; spent at dinner vj sh. in wine.

s. d.

Laid out in victuals at the George Inn xj 4

Laid out in drinking — — — vij ij

Laid out in tobacco and drinking vessels iiij 4

Jan. 1. My father gave me 4l. to bear expences at Bathe.

Mr. Chapman, the Maior, came to Kelfton, and returned thanks, for my being chosen to serve in Parliament, to my father, in the name of all the Citizens. My father gave me good advice, touching my speaking in Parliament as the City should direct me. Came home late at night from Bathe, much troubled hereat concerning my proceeding truly for mens good report and my own safety.

Note, I gave the City Messenger ij sh. for bearing the Maiors Letter to me. Laid out, in all, 3l. vij sh. for victuals, drink, and horse-hire, together with divers gifts.

N. B. The Editor is not quite certain that this Election was in 1646, as the Date is obscure in the MSS ; but it was within a Year or two of that Time.

The under-written MEMORANDUM was found (among other Curiosities) in the Cabinet of the late JOHN BROWNING, Esq; of Barton, near Bristol.

ITEM, That Maister Canynge hath deliver'd, this 4th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1470, to Maister Nicolas Petters, Vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe; Moses Conterin, Philip Barthelmew, Procurators of St. Mary Redcliffe, aforesaid; a new sepulchre well gilt with golde, and a civer thereto.

Item, An image of God Almighty rising out of the same sepulchre, with all the ordinance that 'longeth thereto (that is to say) a lathe made of timber and the iron-work thereto.

Item, Thereto 'longeth Heaven, made of timber and stain'd clothes.

Item; Hell, made of timber, and iron-work thereto, with Divels to the number of 13.

Item, 4 Knights armed, keeping the sepulchre, with their weapons in their hands; that is to say, 2 axes and 2 spears, with 2 pases.

Item, 4 payr of Angels wings for 4 Angels, made of timber and well painted.

Item, The Fadre, the Crowne, and Visage, the Well with a Cross upon it, well gilt with fine gould.

Item, The Holy Ghosht coming out of Heaven into the sepulchre.

Item, 'Longeth to the 4 Angels 4 Chevaliers.

A LORD

A LORD of SCOTLAND to Queen
ELIZABETH.

Pleaseth your Maiestie,

UPON the vij daye of this instant Iuly, there was a meetinge kept at one accustomed place, called The Kydyswyre, on the frontyers, betwixt the Warden on the midle marches of England and a Gentleman seruant, deputie Keeper of Lyddesdaile, vnder my nephewe, the Earle of Anguste; where, after meetinge and good iustice and redresse in the beginninge, at last, some question falling betwixt the Officers, although withowt any actuall offere of iniuries by waie of deed on our mens parties, the disordered people of Kinsdale, Ryddaile, and others your Highnes subiects, violating the proclamation of truce, by shott of pistoletts and arrowes, presentlie slewe ij Scottishmen, even in the sight and verie neare the Officiaries; perceiving the remnant of our people so outrageously, that they, being farr driven from their standing, at length in their defence, after the slaughter and hurting of sondry Gentlemen and others of this nation, your Maiesties subiects haue happened in the ende to receive such losse and detriment as I am hartelie sorie of; whearof I haue more amplie insourmed the LL. of your Highnes most honorable Privie Counsaile, as vnwillinge to weary your Highnes with so lardge a narration.

God is my witnes, and my by-past actions haue witnessed with what earnestnes and sinceri-

tie I haue studied to entertaine the happie peace and good amitie begonn with your Maiesties raigne, and contynewed to this daie, betwixt these two kingdomes ; and howe carefull I haue bene to avoyd all occasions tending to the prejudice theirow. Nowe, in this case, as I haue received information, so simplie haue I thought good to notifie the same vnto your Highnes; humblie and earnestlie beseeching your Maiestie to direct chardges to your Highnes Wardens and Officers on the frontyers, straightlie commaunding the observance of the peace and good amitie, and inhibiting all inordinat attempts tending to the violating theirow. As for the partie of the Kinge my Soueraigne, your Highnes dear cosin, and this his realme, no dewtie, travailes, or good will, that may quiet the misliking growin in this late vnhappie accident, and renewe the former good intelligence and amitie, shalbe omitted.

Expecting your Highnes gracious and fauorable aunswere towching the order which your Highnes wold haue, in this behalf, followed owt, I humblie take my leaue, beseeching Almightye God to prosper your Highnes in a longe and happie raigne. Dat. 8 Iulij, 1575.

The

The Prince of SPAINES Receiving
into BRUSSELLS, i Ap. 1549.

THE Prince of Spaine, beinge come, the last of Marche, to a place of the Ladie Regents, ij Dutch miles distant frome this towne, was mett their by the French Queene, the Ladie Regent, and the Dutchesse of Loraine; whear they all lodged that night. The daie folowing, which was the first of Aprill, after dynner, the French Queene returned to Brussells to keep the Emperour company, who was then in his Diet, and theirfore yssued not fourth of his pallace. The Prince, with other Noble men, tooke their waie towarde a great and fair plaine, distant ij English miles from this towne; which, beinge environed with sondry small hills, rather somewhat extending in length, then mutch raised in heichte, representeth vnto the beholders a right pleasaunt and beawtifull sighte, in the middst whearof the Lady Regent had caused a great & gorgious howse, or standing, to be made, containing 250 paces in length, and abowt tenn in bredth, with xxxv great windowes in the same; whearof iij in the middst wear somewhat greater and higher then the rest, and occupied the space of a fair chambre, or separate place, for the parsonage of most honor to stand in, the same with the rest of the howse, being sumtuousslie painted and overlayd with garlands and fuellage of hearbes and trees, such as the season of the year suffied to be most grene; whearin were also intermingled sondry sortes of counterfaite fruites,

very perfectlie made and couloured. The iij greatest windowes before remembred were all over couloured with clothe of golde, and in each of them ij cushions of the same to leane on. Quer the middlemost of which windowes are painted curiouse the Prince of Spaines armes, on the right haunde; the French Queenes and the Ladye Regents on the lefte. After that the Prince and Ladye Regent, accompanied with the other Noblemen and Ladies, were alighted at this howse, and, each person placed according to his degree, the prepared triumph began; for the better vnderstanding whereof, it is to be noted, that ij bandes, bothe of horsemen and footmen, in manner of ij armies, were incamped about half a mile asonder, eche parte beinge entrenched and fortified with their mounts, flankes, and other deuises, after the forme and manner of warr, having on either parte iij Ensignes of footemen, and Gentlemen on horsback with targetts, after the manner of demilaunces; and light horsemen with targetts like hangours; xl harquebuses on horsback after the Alman fashion; xxx men at armes well mounted, and their horses barbed, and xxiiij peeces of ordinaunce. I omitt here to speake of the sumptuous trappings, the fair and costlie armour, the braue and gorgeous plumages, the fondry strainge and fightlie deuises whearwith each person, according to his estate and degree, was furnished: A matter over longe for so short a discourse, and no lesse comberous to be written, then tedious to be redd. The one of these twoc armies, being all in green, bothe horsemen and footmen, and
their

their standards and ensignes of the same, was guided and ledd by the Prince of Peermount, a Gentleman dowtles of a rare worthines, and esteemed, with some good cause, as well for his Nobilitie and estate, as for his vertues qualities, bothe of the Emperour and all other Noble persons of this Court. The other bande had to their Captain Mounsr. de Ritches, of the Emperours Chambre, and Knight of the Order; who, with his men, wear apointed all in white. But of these towne incamped armies, the Prince of Spaine being come to his standing, as is before remembered, the Hungarians yssued first to the—

N. B. The rest is wanting in the MSS.

COPY of a LETTER to J. HARINGTON,
Esq; at Kelston.

WE the Maior, Aldermen, and Citizens of Bath, in fear and trouble, beseeche you to give advices to your son, touching our cities distress at this present time, that he may in such wise get favour from the Commander to spare further levies, as we hear the troopes are coming onward for our city, and our houses are emptied of all useful furniture, and much broken and disfigured; our poore suffer for want of victuals, and rich we have none. God assist your love and friendship to us, and favour your good will herein. Your son hath good interest in the army, and we doubt not will use his endeavours to succour and save his poor neighbours. Warrants are come to raise horse, but we have none left; Colonel Sandford doth promise his assistance, as much as he is able. We have now 400 in the town and many more coming; God protect us from pillage. We remain

Your sincere Welwishers
to command.

Bathe City,
Feb. 1646.

A L E T-

A LETTER to Captain HARRINGTON,
at his Quarters in Taunton, 1646.

GOOD SIR,

IT is commanded me to give the thanks of our Citie of Bathe, and all its inhabitants, to you for your good care and concern in providing your owne company to come hither, and thereby preventing such disorder as doth happen, too oft, under soldier-like quarterings: The troop behaved well, as it was expected your good direction did so endeavour they should. Major Hewlet got in the levies as commanded, in such manner as the rate observed all over the West. Many citizens had no monies ready, and were threatend with pillage. Eighteen horses were provided at the Market-house, and delivered up, as you desired; but the men required were excused on your desiring, nor was any seizure made, or plunder, excepting in liquors and bedding. The Town-house was filled with troops that came from Marlborow in their march Westward. I have sent oute 5 men and 3 horses, but have no orders for more yet. God preserve our kingdom from these sad troubles much longer! I hear the Parliament have taken into consideration the Scots business; pray, good Sir, as far as your power goeth, do us all the service you can in these afflictions. I know your heart is ready to help us, and you stand fair with the General.

Our meal was taken by the Marlborow troop, but they restored it again to many of the poorer
sort.

fort. Our beds they occupied entirely, but no greater mischief has happened as yet. God direct your good ordering for our safety in future; and come to us, when you can, as your presence will do us good. Your father went to London on Sunday. We have no Divine Service as yet; the churches are full of the troops furniture and bedding. Pardon my haste, as I have sent this by a poor man who may suffer if he is found out, and I dare not send a man on purpose on horseback, as the horse would be taken. We all commend our love and duties to you, from

Your true friend,

ROBERT JONES, sen.

We heard you was hurt in the skirmishe on Holte-Common, and hope it was not severe enow to endanger your life.

The

The following is inserted to shew that Spiritual Quackery did not originate in the Days of Oliver Cromwell, as this pure Spiritual Medicine is found in a MSS. dated 1579, and was a Preparation ordained by the Puritans of those Times for the Soules Health.

A most HOLESOME MEDICIN for the
Soule of Man.

TAKE a quart of repentaunce of Nynivie, and put therto bothe your handfulls of fervent faithe in Christs bloode, with as much hope and charitie of the purest that you can gett or find in Gods shopp, of eche a like quantitie; and put it into a vessell of cleane conscience, and let it boile well in the fier of loue till thoue seest, by the eye of faithe, the black some of the love of the worlde stinke in the stomach: Then skyme it of cleane with the spon of faithfull prayers; that done, put in the powder of patience, and take the immaculate clothe of Christs pure innocencie, and straine it together throughe into Christs cupp: Then drinke it burning hote betimes next thie harte: This done, rest from thie beastlie conversation, vsed in time past, vpon the bedd of Christs pure innocencie, and cover thee warme with as many clothes of amendment of lief as God shall strengthen thee to bear: That thoue maste sweate owt all the vile poison of covetousnes, idolitrie, and the participation thereof, with all kinde of whor.

whordome, beggerlie pride, oppreffion, extortion, sedition, vsurie, prodigalitie, fwaring, lyinge, flaundering, envying, wrathe, sects, thefte, murder, drunkenes, glottonye, and flowthe. With fuche like sweat clean of thie hart, thie bones, thie bodie, with all thie other powres or parts of thee: And euer wash thie harte and eyes with the pure water of humilitie, myxed with the fear of God; and laye the sweet cammamell of good conversation hard to thie nose, lest thoue sholde smell more then thine owne; and, when thoue feelest thie selfe altered from all these afore-named vices, take the powder of faie well, and lay it vppon the topp of thie tounge, to fauour thie mowth with all, and the eares of the hearer; but drinke thrise soe mutche, doe well daillie, and then take the oyle of good works mixed with the same mercie that God hath willed vs to vse, and annoynt theirwith thine eyes, thie eares, thie lippes, thie hart, and thie hands throwglie, that they maie be light, nimble, quick, and red-die to minister to the poore and disperfed members of Iesus Christe, even as youe are able, or see occasion; but beware thoue takest not winde in ministring therof, least the deadlie dust of vaine glorie and ipocrisie do thee mutche harme; and keep a good diet for thie head sake, vse the hote brothe of hollines and righteousnes contynuallie, and feed thieselfe well with the oyle of Gods peace; and, this done, arise frome synn willinglie, and walke thie course worthelie, and take vp Christs crosse boldlie, and beare it thankfullie, and thoue shalt liue euerlastinglie.

TRANS-

TRANSLATION, by Q. ELIZABETH,
of one of TULLIES Familiar Epistles,
given by her to JOHN HARYNGTON,
1579.

TULLY to CURIO.

I HAVE written these vnto you by Sextus Julius, my freend Miloes companion, not knowing whether you are yet comm into Italy ; but, because you are shortlie looked for, and it is certainlie reported, that you are nowe departed out of Asia toward Rome, the importance of the matter made vs thinke no haste to great, beinge desierous you might receiue lettres, as sone as might be. My Curio, yf yt wear I onlie that had shewed you freendship (and yet indeed yt is far greater by your acceptacion then by my accompte) I shoulde hardlie be boulde to desier any great matter at your handes, for it is a grief to an honest nature to aske any thinge whear he hath well deserued, lest he sholde seeme to demande rather then desier, and to aske a recompence rather then a benefitt. But seinge yt is well known and famous, by reason of my meane beginninge, howe greatlie I am bounde vnto youe, and seing yt is a parte of a lovinge minde to desier to be more beholdinge where he is mutch beholdinge all redye ; I will not sticke to be a sutor vnto you, in these my lettres, for the thinge which is most acceptable and necessarye for me of all others : For, thoughe youe sholde doe never so mutch for me, yet I dare presume it shall not be losse, trusting that no benefitt can be soe great, but that either I shalbe able to receive with
kindenes,

kindenes, or to rewarde yt with thankfulness, or to honor yt with commendacion.

Sir, I haue sett all my studdie, diligence, care, labor, minde, soule, and all, to make Miloe Consul; and I ame perswaded I ame bound to doe it, not onlie as I wolde recompence my freend, but as I wolde honor my father; for I thinke there was neuer man soe carefull for his life and goodes, as I ame for Miloes preferment, wherein methinks my hole state standes. Hearing I vnderstande you can doe vs soe much helpe that wee shall neede to seeke no farther. All this wee haue alredie: The best sort, for the acts of his Tribuneshipp for my sake, as I trust you thinke; the people and the multitude, for his shewes and triumphes, and his liberall nature; the youth and the favorites, for his owne commendacion among theme; last of all, my voice, not soe mightie, perhapps, as others, yet esteemed and honest, and bound vnto hime, and therefore may chaunce auayleable, nowe wee have but nede of a Head and a Capteine, and, as it were a Master, to rule and govern these same windes; and, if wee shulde wishe for one in all this empire, we colde not chuse a fitter man then youe. And therefore, yf youe thinke me mindfull, yf you thinke me thankfull, yf you thinke me an honest man, that labor soe earnestlie for my freinde; to conclude, if youe thinke me worthie of your benefitts, I desier you to help me in this my great care, and to assiste me to winn this honor, or rather, as yt wear, to save my life. For Miloe himselfe, this I darr promise, that you shall finde no man of more couradge, grauitie, constancie, or faithfulness to-
wardes

wardes youe, yf youe will receive him into your freendshipp. And, for my parte, youe shall doe me so muche honor and reputacion, as I shall haue cause to confes that youe haue shawed your- selffe as much my freend for my credit, as you haue done heartofore for my safetie. I doubt not but you see howe I ame tyed to this matter, and howe it importeth me not onlie to striue, but to fight alsoe to performe yt, ells I wolde write more. But nowe I commend and deliver the whole matter and all my selffe into your bandes. Onlie this I shall saie, yf I obtaine yt, I shall almoste be more bounde to you then to Miloe; for I ame not so glad that Miloe saved my life, as I would be glad to recompence hime for it. And I never looke to doe yt but by your meanes onlie.

LET.

LETTER to Mr. JOHN HARYNGTON,
at Cambridge, from the Lord High
Treasurer BURLEIGHE, 1578.

I Thancke you, my good Jacke, for your lettres, which I lik not for the praise thei giue me, but for the promise thei make me; that is, that you will continewe your endeavour to gett vnderstandinge, without the which, a man is lytle accompted of, and, in deed, can not tell truelie, how to accompte of him self. But, as the waie to knowledge is not shorte, so the travaillers therein must neither be idle nor wearie; nor thinke a lytle is ynough of that wherof non can have to much. For that weare like a man goinge home, that tooke the nexte inne for his owne house, or the halfe waie for his iorneis ende. Besides this, he that vndertaketh the iornie you haue in hande (if he will not goe out of the waie) must use good guides, as I doubte not but you will. For the Latin tongue, Tullye chieffellie, if not onlie; for the Roman story (whiche is exceedinge fitt for a Gentleman to vnderstande) Lyuie and Cæsar; for Logycke and Philosophie, Aristotle and Plato. And so, in all tonges and sciences, the most notable and approved (as your Tutor can best tell you) not dealinge with over greate varietie of books, which yonge men delite in; and yet, in myne opynyon, they breede but a scattringe of the mynde. For, as Seneca sayeth, *‘Cavta lectio prodest, varia delectat.* Nowe, to geve you better speede in this waie, thoe your Maistres information and your good fathers aduise will
much

muche availe you, yet to heare mye fansye can
 nothinge hinder you. Therefore thus I thincke:
 The most ordinarie meanes to further men to
 to knowledge be readinge and hearinge; and
 reasoninge and wrytinge be most requisite; but
 all, done in tyme and order, be most profitable.
 Hereof the rules be as dyvers, as their witts be
 that be Teachers, or the orders be in diuere vni-
 uersities and houses of lerninge. Therefore I
 will appointe you no other paterne; the place
 you lyve in dothe shewe you, from whence so
 manye notable lerned men and noble seruants
 of the Common wealth haue proceeded to fame
 and greate fortune. Onlie I woulde particulerlie
 warne you, that (to seeme a good fellow) you
 fytt not in your studie readinge, when you
 shoulde be in the hall hearinge; nor be wryting
 a declamation for your prayers, when you maye
 be at a disputation for your more profytt: For at
 a good lecture youe maie lerne, in an houre,
 that a good Teacher, perhaps, hath bene stu-
 dyinge for a daie, and yourself, by readinge, shall
 not fynd oute in a moneth. Againe, you shall
 reache more discerninge of trothe in an howres
 reasoninge with others, then a weeks wrytinge
 by yourself; thoe I knowe nothinge I woulde
 haue you more vse then wrytinge. And nowe,
 that I haue made mention hereof, I will therein,
 likewise, tell you my mynde: In wrytinge, to
 seeke varietie of invention, to make choise of
 words and phrased, to vse apte examples, and
 good imitacyon, I knowe be verie good thinges;
 but if you follow the trade of Sir John Cheeke
 (who was one of the sweetest flowers that hatn
 coomen

coomen in my tyme out of the garden you growe in) you can not doe better. One manner of his, amongst dyvers excellent, was this, to appoint those that weare under hym, and that he desired shoulde moste profytt, to take a peece of Tullie, and to translate it into Englishe, and after, layinge theire bookes asyde, to translate the same againe into Latine, and then to compare them with the booke, and to consider whiche weare don aptelie, or vnproperlie; and howe neare Tullies phrased was folowed in the Latine, and the moste sweete and sensyble wrytinge in Englishe; contynewinge with this kinde of excercise once or twice in a weeke, for two or three yeres, you shall come to write (as he dyd) singularlie in bothe tongues, which is most necessarie and most comendable.

Last of all, whether you speeke, or write, or whatsoeuer you doe, I wolde aduise you to remember Cicero his lesson, which is good in lerninge, but better in lyvinge: *‘ Omnis actio vacare debet temeritate et negligentia.* Thus first fearinge and praisinge God, and folowinge your booke and good companie, you shall become a greate comforte to your father, and praise to your Master, an honor to the Vniuersitie that breedes you, a fytte seruaunte for the Queene and your countrey, for which you weare born, and to which, next God, you are most bounde; a good staie to your self, and no smale ioye to your freends; which I, that loves you, bothe wishe and hope of. And so commend me to you, my good Jacke, and us bothe to Gods goodnes. From the Courte, the vith of June, 1578.

Your fathers frende that loves you,

BURLEIGHE.

Mr. ROBERT MARKHAM, to JOHN
HARINGTON, Esq; 1598.

NOtwithstandinge the perilous state of our times, I shall not faile to give you such intelligence and advices of our matters here as may tende to your use and benefite. We have gotten goode accounte of some matters, and, as I shall finde some safe conduct for bearinge them to you, it may from time to time happen, that I sende tydings of our courtly concerns. Since your departure from hence, you haue been spoke of, and withe no ill will, both by the Nobles and the Queene herself. Your book is almoste forgiven, and I may say forgotten; but not for its lacke of wit or satyr. Those whome you feared moste are now bosoming themselves in the Queenes grace; and, tho' her Highnesse signified displeasure in outwarde sorte, yet did she like the marrowe of your booke. Your great enemye, Sir James, did once mention the Star Chamber, but your good esteem in better mindes outdid his endeavors, and all is silente again. The Queene is minded to take you to her favour, but she sweareth that she believes you will make epigrams and write *misfamos* again on her and all the Courte; she hath been heard to say, 'that merry poet, her godson, must not come to Greenwich, till he hath grown sober and leaveth the Ladies sportes and frolicks. She did conceive much disquiet on being tolde you had aimed a shafte at Leicester; I wishe you knew the author of that ill deed, I woud not be in

in his beste jerkin for a thousand markes. You yet stande well in her Highnesse loue, and I hear you are to go to Ireland with the Leiuenant, Essex; if so, mark my counsel in this matter: I doubte not your valor nor your labor, but that damnable uncoverd honestie will marr your fortunes. Observe the man who commandeth, and yet is commanded himselfe; he goeth not forth to serve the Queenes realme, but to humor his owne revenge. Be heedful of your bearinges; speake not your minde to all you meete. I tell you I have ground for my caution; Essex hath enemies; he hath friendes too; now there are two or three of Montjoys kindred sent oute in your armie; they are to report all your conduct to us at home. As you loue yourself, the Queene, and me, discover not these matters; if I did not loue you, they had never been tolde: high concerns deserve high attention; you are to take accounte of all that passeth in your expedition, and keepe journal thereof, unknown to any in the company; this will be expected of you; I have reasons to give for this order: If the Lord Deputy performs in the field what he hath promised in the Council, all will be well; but, tho' the Queene hath graunted forgivenesse for his late demeanor in her presence, we know not what to thinke hereof. She hath, in all outward semblance, placed confidence in the man who so lately sought other treatment at her handes; we do sometime think one way, and sometime another; what betyde the Lord Deputy is known to Him only who knoweth all; but when a man hath so manie shewing friendes,

friends, and so manye unshewing enemies, who
 learneth his end here below? I say, do you not
 meddle in any sorte, nor give your jesting too
 freely among those you know not; obey the Lord
 Deputy in all thinges, but give not your opinion;
 it may be heard in England. Tho' you obey,
 yet seem not to advise, in any one pointe; your
 obeyfance may be, and must be, construed well;
 but your counsel may be ill thoughte of, if any
 bad businesse followe. You have now a secret
 from one that wishes you all welfare and honour;
 I know there are overlookers set on you all, so
 God direct your discretion. Sir William Knolles
 is not well pleased; the Queene is not well pleased,
 the Lord Deputy may be pleased now, but I
 fore fear what maye happen hereafter. The
 hart of man lieth close hid oft time; men do not
 carry it in their hand, nor shoud they do so that
 wish to thrive in these times and in these places;
 I say this that your own honestie may not shew
 itself too much, and turn to your own ill fa-
 vor. Stifle your understandinge as much as may
 be; mind your bookes, and make your jestes,
 but take heed who they light on. My love hathe
 overcome almoste my confidence and truste which
 my truthe and place demandeth. I have said too
 much for one in my dependant occupation, and
 yet too little for a friende and kinsman, who put-
 teth himself to this hard tryal for your advantage.
 You have difficult matters to encounter besyde
 Tirone and the rebels; there is little heed to be
 had to showe of affection in State businesse; I
 finde thys by those I discourse wyth dailie, and
 those to of the wiser sorte. If my Lord Treasurer

had livede longer, matters woud go on surer. He was our greate Pilot, on whom all caste their eyes, and soughte their safetie. The Queenes Highnesse doth often speake of him in teares, and turn asyde, when he is discoursed of; nay, even forbiddeth any mention to be made of his name in the Council: This I learne by some friendes who are in good liking with Lord Buckhurst. My sister beareth thys to you, but dothe not knowe what it containethe, nor woud I disclose to any woman my dealinges in this sorte; for danger goeth abroad, and silence is the safest armor. The death of K. Philip was good news to our realme; God did seem to punishe his vain glorie bothe in his life and at his death. It is reported he was eaten up by loathsome vermin; and we know what troubles he endured aforetyme, and yet got little good but in his Portugal businesse. God speed your jorneyes and keep you safelie to returne to us again. So wisshethe and praiethe

Your loving Kinsman and Friende,

ROB. MARKHAM.

N. B. The Editor is sorry he could not throw together the papers respecting the Irish affairs, in their proper order; but, as many of these pieces were sent to the press before others were found, it was impossible to digest them in due time: Indeed, a second Volume was not designed when the first was

pub-

publish'd, which occasions the present irregularity so justly to be complain'd of.

N. B. The Work alluded to, in the foregoing Letter, was called *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*; a severe Satyr on many persons, at that time, in high stations, and incurred severe censure from the Queen herself. But the Author's estimation with that Princess secured an unexpected forgiveness.



M 2

LET.

LETTER from Sir JOHN HARYNGTON,
to Prince HENRY, 1609.

Moste Noble Prince,

IT was sometyme since your wyll that I should sende unto you suche scraps and fragments of witte and poesie as I mighte from my poore braine; but as respecte is due to Crowned Heads, and as soche sholde be honorede before clownishe heads, I have here sente to your Highnesse a prettie verse, made by that unfortunate, and yet in his godlinesse I wist moste fortunate, King, Henrie the Sixthe; it hathe often caused muche griefe to thinke on the perilous state of that goode Kinge, not forgetting to remark how he framed his lyfe to meet his death. I met with this verse in a book of my grandfathers writing, whose father was so moche in the trobles and warres of York and Lancaster, as to lose all his landes for being a Commander on the wrong side, and among the traitors, if so I may say; and yet thus saith a Poet:

Treason dothe never prosper, What's the reason?
Why, if it prosper, none dare call it Treason.

But this is not King Henrys verse. My ancestor
* Sir James Haryngton did once take prisoner, with his party, this poor Prince; for which the House of York did graunt him a parcel of lands in the northern counties, and which he was fool enough to lose again, after the battle of Bosworth, when King Henry the Seventh came to the

* The Grant of Lands for this Service is given in the former Part of this Volume. dated 1464.

crown;

crown; and methinks I feel his follie to this tyme, for, on forfeiture of twenty-five rich manors, it was time for our House to travel to southward, where, if they brought no landes, they found some more from the goodnesse of Henrie the Eight. The verse I did mean to present your Highnesse wyth is as doth now followe, and well suiteth the temper and condition of his fortunes who made it :

“ KINEDOMES are bote cares;
State ys devoyd of staie;
Ryches are redy snares,
And hastene to decaie.

“ Plesure ys a pryvie prycke
Wich vyce doth styll provoke;
Pompe unprompt; and fame a flayme;
Powre a smouldryng smoke.

“ Who meenethe to remoofe the rocke,
Owte of the slymie mudde,
Shall myre hymselfe, and hardlie scape
The swellynge of the flodde.”

Soe much for poor King Henries verse; and nowe take, if your Highnesse will excuse it, some of his prose: For I find written under this, in the same hand, the following sentences; and no doute they were not given as his without good credit and groundes:

“ Patyence ys the armore and conqueste of the godlie: Thys merytythe mercie, when cawlesse ys soffered sorowe.”

Nougte els ys warre bote furie and madnesse;
 whereyn ys not advyse bote rashenesse ; not ryghte
 bote rage rulethe and raigethe. HENRIE.

And none so trulie coud speake thus as our
 poore Author, under his piteous imprisonment,
 his bloody kingdom, his distressed kyndred ; from
 all which God hath now most marvelously freed
 and deliverd these realmes. As I have thus
 given your Highnesse a short ensample of Royal
 poetrie, I will not in haste forsake the matter,
 and descend from high to low ; but will now
 venture to send to your readinge a special verse
 of King Henry the Eight, when he conceived
 love for Anna Bulleign. And hereof I entertain
 no doubt of the Author, for, if I had no better
 reason than the rhyme, it were sufficient to think
 that no other than suche a King coud write suche
 a sonnet ; but of this my father oft gave me
 good assurance, who was in his household. This
 sonnet was sung to the Lady Ann at his com-
 maundment, and here followeth :

THE eagle's force subdues eache byrd that flies ;
 What metal can resyst the flaminge fyre ?
 Dothe not the sunne dazle the clearest eyes,
 And melte the ice, and make the froste retyre ?
 The hardest stones are peircede thro wyth tools ;
 The wyfest are, with Princes, made but fools.

Thus have I given your Highnesse another en-
 sample of Royal poetrie ; nor, if time did serve,
 or your patience woud permit, shoud I omit
 some prettier verses of our late Princeesse, of bles-
 sed

fed remembrance; but enow at this time. I have complied with your requeste, and sente my Ariosto, for your Highnesse entertainment, humbly suing for some special marke of your approbation in returne, from the hand and heade of that Prince who claymeth the dutyful obeysance and unequalled estimation of

His honoured Servant,

JOHN HARYNGTON.



VERSES *by Sir Thomas Wyat* *.

MARVELL no more, althoe
The songes I singe do mone;
For other lyfe then woe
I never proved none.

And in my hart also
Ys graven, with lettres deepe,
A thousand sighes and moe,
A flood of teares to weepe.

How may a man in smart
Fynde matter to reioyce?
How may a mourning hart
Sett forth a pleasant voyce?

Play who that can that part,
Needs must in me appeere
How Fortune overthwarte
Doth cause my mourning cheere.

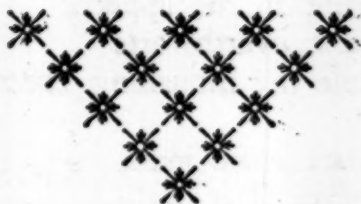
Pérdie, theare is no man,
Yf he never sawe fight,
That perfectlye tell can
The nature of the light.

* Father to him who was executed in the Reign of Queen Mary, for Rebellion; this Sir Thomas has been mentioned with Respect, as a Poet, by Mr. Gray; but the Editor of this Specimen begs the Reader to excuse inserting these Petit Pieces, which probably were the First-fruits of his Muse.

Alas! how shuld I than,
 That never taste but sowre;
 But do as I began
 Contynuallye to lowre?

But yet, perchaunce, some chaunce
 Maye chaunce to chaunge my tune;
 And, when suche chaunce doth chaunce,
 Then shall I thanck Fortune.

And, yf I have suche chaunce,
 Perchaunce, ere it be longe,
 For suche a pleasaunte chaunce,
 To singe some pleasant songe.



M 5

By

By the Earl of ROCHEFORD.

In Manuscript, dated 1564.

I.

MY lewt, awake, performe the laste
Labour that thow and I shall waste,
And ende that I have nowe begunne:
For, when this songe is sung and past,
Mye lewt, be still, for I have done.

II.

As to be heard wheare eare is none;
As lead to grave in marble stone;
My songe may pearce her hart as sone:
Shuld we then fighe, or singe, or mone?
No, no, my lewte, for I have done.

III.

The rocks do not so cruellye
Repulſſe the waves contynually
As she my fute and affection;
So that I ame past remedie,
Whearbye my lute and I have done.

IV.

Vengeance shall fall on thie disdayne,
That makeſt but game on earnest payne.
Thinck not alone vnder the sonne
Vnquyte to cause thie lovers playne,
Althoughe my lute and I have done.

V.

Perchaunce they lye withered and olde,
The winter nightes that are so colde,
Playning in vayne vnto the moone;
Thie wisshes then dare not be tolde;
Care then whoe liſte, for I haue done.

V. And

VI.

And may chaunce the to repent
The tyme that thow hast lost and spent
To cawse thie lovers fighe and swone;
Then shalt thow know bewtie but lent,
And wishe and want as I have done.

VII.

Now cease, my lewte, this is the last
Labour that thow and I shall waste,
And endid is that we begunne:
Now is this songe both sunge and past,
My lewte, be still, for I have done.

By Sir THOMAS WYAT.

I.

ONCE, as me thought, Fortune me kist,
And bad me aske what I thought best;
And I shuld have it as me list,
Thearwith to sett my hart at rest.

II.

I asked nought but my deere hart
To have for evermore myne owne;
Then at an end weare all my smart,
Then shuld I neede no more to mone.

III.

Yet, for all that, a stormye blasse
Had over turnde this goodlye day;
And Fortune seemed, at the laste,
That to her promesse she said naye.

IV.

But, lyke as one out of dispaire
To suddaine hope revyved, I,
Now Fortune shewith her self so fayre
That I content me wonderlye.

V.

My moste desyre my hand may reache,
Mye will is allwaye at my hand;
Me neede not long for to beseeche
Her that hath powre me to commaunde.

VI.

What earthlye thinge more can I crave?
What wolde I wishe more at my will?

No thinge on earthe more wolde I have
Save that I have to have it still.

VII.

For Fortune hath kept her promesse
In graunting me my mosste desyre ;
Of mye suffraunce I have redresse,
And I content me with mye hyre.



To

TO ISABELLA MARKHAM, 1549.

LYKE as the rage of rayne
 Fills ryvers with excesse;
 And as the drowght agayne
 Doth draw them lesse and lesse:
 So I both fall and clyme,
 With no and yea somtyme.

As they ryse hye and hye,
 So doth encrease my state;
 As they fall drye and drye,
 So doth my wealth abate:
 As yea ys matcht with no,
 My wealth ys myxt with wo.

As nothing can endure,
 That lyves and lacks relief;
 So no state may stand sure,
 Where chaunge doth rayne as Chief:
 Wherefore I must entend
 To bow, when others bend.

And, when they laugh, to smyle,
 And, when they weepe, to wayle;
 And, when they crafte, begyle,
 And, when they fight, assayle:
 And thynck there ys no chaunge
 Can make them seeme to straunge.

Oh! moste vnhappie state,
 What wight may kepe such coorse,
 To love that he shuld hate,
 Or ells to doe moche worffe:
 Theise be rewardes for suche
 As lyve and love to moche.

JOHN

JOHN HARYNGTON TO ISABELLA
MARKHAM, 1549.

QUESTION.

A LAS! I love yow overwell,
Myne owne sweete deere delygte;
Yet, for respects, I feare to tell
What moves my trobled spryghte:
What workes my woe, what breeds my smarte,
What woundes myn harte and mynde,
Reason restrayns me to emparte
Such perylls as I fynde.

ANSWER.

If present peryll reason fynde,
And hope for helpe doe haste;
Vnfolde the secretts of yowr mynde,
Whyls hope of helpe may taste.
And I will ease yowr payne and smarte,
As yf yt weare myne owne;
Respects and perylls put aparte,
And let the truthe be knowne.

QUESTION.

The words be sownde, the sownde ys sweete,
The sweete yeeldes bounty free;
Noe wyghte hathe worthe to yeelde meed meete
For grace of suche degree:
Now, sythe my playnte dothe pytie move,
Grawnt grace that I may taste
Suche ioys as angells feelee above,
That lovingly may last.

ANSWER

ANSWER.

I yeeld with harte and wylling mynde
 To doe all yow desyre ;
 Doubtinge noe deale suche faythe to fynde
 As suche truste dothe requier :
 Now yow have wealthe at yowr owne will,
 And lawe at yowr owne luste,
 To make or mar, to save or spill ;
 Then be a Conquerour iuste.

ANSWER.

Fyrste shall the sunne in darknes dwell,
 The moone and starrs lacke lyghte,
 Before in thoughte I doe rebell
 Agaynste my lyves delyghte :
 Tryed ys my truste, knowne ys my truthe,
 Yn tyme, my sweete, provyde,
 Whilest bewtie florishe in thine yowthe,
 And brethe in mee abyde.

Jo. HAR.

JOHN

JOHN HARYNGTON to his Wyfe, 1564.

YF dutye, wyf, lead thee to deeme
That trade moſte fytt I hold moſt deare,
Fyrſt, God regard, next me eſteeme,
Our chyldren then reſpect thow neare.

Our houſe bothe ſweete and cleanly ſee,
Ordre our fare, thy maydes kepe ſhort ;
Thy mirth with mean well myxed be ;
Thy courteſſe partes in chaſte wyſe ſorte.

In ſober weede the cleanly dreſſe ;
When ioyes me rayſe, thy cares downe caſt ;
When greifes me greepe, thie ſolace ceace ;
Who ſo me frynds, frynd them as faſt.

In peace geve place, what ſo I ſaye ;
A parte complayne, yf cawſe thow fynde ;
Let lybrall lypps no truſt bewray,
Nor ielous humour payne thye mynd.

If I thee wronge, thie greifes vnfolde ;
Yf thow me vex, thine errorr grawnt ;
To ſeeke ſtraunge toyles be not to bold ;
The ſtryfeleſſe bedd no jarres may haunt.

Small ſleape and early prayer entend ;
The idle lyf, as poyſon, hate ;
No credyte lyght nor moche ſpeache ſpend ;
In open place no cawſe debate.

No thwarts, no frownes, no grudge, no ſtryf ;
Eſchew the badd, embrace the beſt ;
To trothe of worde joyne honeſt lyf,
And in my boſome buyld thye neſt.

The

The Ordinances, Statuts, and Rules made by JOHN Lord TIPTOFLE, Earle of WORCESTER, Constable of England, by the Kings Commandement, at *Windsere*, on the 29th of March; and commanded in ELIZ. 4; to bee obserued or kept in all Maner by Justices of Peaces Royall within this Realme of England.

Reseruinge alwaies to the Queene, and to the Lord present, the attribution and gift of the prize, after the maner and forme accustomed. For their demeritts according to the articles ensuinge:

How many waies the prize is woone.

First, Who so breaketh most speares, as they ought to bee broken, shall haue the prize.

Item, Who so hitteth three times, in the sight of the hearme, shall haue the prize.

Item, Who so meeteth too times, counnall to counnall, shall haue the prize.

Item, Who so beareth a man downe with stroke of speare shall haue the prize.

How many waies the prize shall be lost.

First, Who so striketh a horse shall haue no prize.

Item, Who striketh a man, his back turned, or disarmed of his speare, shall haue no prize.

Item,

Item, Who so hitteth the toyle 3 times shall have no prize.

Item, Who so vnhealmes himselfe too times shall haue no prize, vnles his horse doe faile him.

How broken speares shall bee allowed.

First, Who so breaketh a speare, between the saddle and the cournell of the hearme, shall bee allowed for one.

Item, Who so breaketh a speare, from the cournall upwards, shall be allowed for too.

Item, Whoso breaketh a speare, so that hee strike his aduersary downe, or put him out of his saddle, or disarmes him in such wise as hee may not runne the next course after, or breaketh his speare cournall to cournall, shall bee allowed as 3 speares broken.

How speares broken shall be disallowed.

First, Who so breaketh on the saddle shall be disallowed for speare-breaking.

Item, Who so hitteth the toyle once shall bee disallowed for too.

Item, Who so hitteth the toyle shall, for that blow the second time, bee abated three.

Item, Whoso breaketh a speare, within a foot to the cournall, shall bee adiudged as no speare broken, but a faint attaynt.

For the price to bee giuen, and who shall be preferred.

First, Whoso beareth a man downe out of the saddle, or putteth him to the earth, horse and man,

man, shall haue the prize before him that striketh counnall to counnall too times.

Item, Hee that strikes counnall to counnall, too times, shall haue the prize before him that strikes the fight three times.

Item, Hee that strikes the fight three times shall haue the prize before him that breaketh most speares.

Item, If there be any man that furnissheth in this wise, which shall be deamed to haue bidden longest in the field hearmed, and to haue runne the fayrest course, and to haue giuen the greatest strokes, and to haue holpen himselfe best with his speare, hee shall haue the prize.

JOHN, WORCESTER.

At Tournay.

TWO blowes at the passage, and tenne at the ioyninge, more or lesse as they make it. All gripings, shockes, and foule play forbidden.

How prizes, and tournay, and barriers are to be lost.

Hee that giueth a stroke with a pike from the girdle downward, or vnder the barrier, shall winne no prize.

Hee that shall haue a cloase gantlett, or any thing to fasten his sword to his hand, shall haue no prize.

Hee

Hee whose sword falleth out of his hand shall winne no prize.

Hee that stayeth his hands in fight on the barriers shall winne no prize.

Hee whosoever shall fight, and doth not shewe his sword to the Judges before, shall winne no prize.

Yet it is to be vnderstood that the Chalingers may winne all these prizes against the Defendants.

The Maintainers may take aide or assistance of the Noblemen, of such as they shall like best.

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